

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PROVINCE OF SICILY

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THE HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF SICILY

BY
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

1919

THE COLONIAL PRESS
C. H. SIMONDS COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.

446756
17-5-46

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INTRODUCTION

THE value of an author's treatment of an historical question must depend largely on the character of his sources. In the following discussion of the history of the province of Sicily, the aim has been to use only material which applies strictly to Sicily, and as a rule no attempt has been made to fill in the picture with material which relates primarily to Italy or to Greece, but might with a considerable degree of probability be applied to Sicily. In the very few instances where such material has been used, it has been where the facts in question were undoubtedly paralleled in the island.

The historic background of this province has been treated purely from the economic and cultural points of view. The narrative of political events in Greek Sicily has already been treated so adequately in the weighty volumes of Freeman and Holm as to make its further delineation superfluous. But the social and economic phases of this period, because they exerted a strong influence on the province of the Roman period, are brought under consideration in this essay, although they may be found in the works of these modern authors. An understanding of the importance of the agricultural activities is an essential preface to the work. The sources for the earlier colonization and development of the island are the Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides.[1] Of Sicily in the period of the Roman conquest Theocritus gives a vivid and charming picture. Allowance must be made, however, for the idyllic character of his work. Sicilian slaves and rustics were doubtless never all so carefree and fortunate as Theocritus paints them. Yet

[1] Herodotus, VII, 155-162; Thucydides, VI, 3-5.

the general impression of rich and overflowing agricultural wealth must remain.

The narrative of the Punic Wars is based on Polybius' detailed and accurate narrative.[1] The reliability of Polybius and his superiority over all other historians of the Republic has long been recognized. He has been used here whenever available. The account of Dio Cassius, as it has survived in the epitome of Zonaras, is of less value, although it has been used in places to supplement the narrative of Polybius. Both accounts deal almost exclusively with the outline of events, and show only incidentally any cultural or economic phases of the period.

Diodorus is practically the only source for the period of the Slave Wars. Since he was a native Sicilian, almost the only noteworthy historical writer whom the island produced during the Roman period, he is of special interest. He was born about 90 B. C. at Agyrium. He travelled much in Europe and Asia, and spent long periods in Rome. After thirty years of preparation he brought out his *ἱστοριῶν βιβλιοθήκη*, in which he planned to include all ages, peoples, and fields of history, beginning with the War with Troy, and ending about 30 B. C. He excites admiration chiefly for the amount of his labor, and gratitude for the material which he handed down. For he simply appropriated the work of his predecessors, using their chronologies without reconciling them, although they showed considerable variety in their method of reckoning time, according to seasons, months, Olympiads, Attic years, etc. He had no idea of progress, of causes, or of reciprocal influences.[2] Since this was true, he could not be, in spite of his discussion of an important stage of Sicilian economy, as vital and illuminating as Cicero, who was interested in all the little details of life and thought and culture.

[1] Polybius, I.

[2] Croiset, La Litterature Grecque, 340-348.

Cicero's orations against Verres contain almost unlimited material on the governmental organization and judicial regulations, on the art treasures and shrines of the gods, on the production and population of various cities, their exports and trade, and especially on all the intimate particulars of the oppression of such magistrates as Verres and his agents, oppression which covered so wide a field that the introduction of much material of diverse character was necessary. It must be kept in mind that the particular emphasis of Cicero is due to his desire to blacken the character of Verres. For this reason the former smooth workings of the Hieronic law, the peaceful character of the Sicilians, the general reasonableness of the publicani in their dealings, and various other impressions too numerous to mention are brought into high and very likely exaggerated prominence. Since Cicero is our only source for much of the material under consideration, it is obviously impossible to know how far his picture must be discredited. It has also been impracticable to speak of his bias on every occasion in which it may have influenced the material here used. The reader must therefore bear distinctly in mind that allowances are continually to be made for this bias.

No other writer affords so specific a picture of the Roman province. Strabo has left a brief but vivid picture of it as it became a country of wide-reaching cattle ranges.[1] Pliny's interest in the medicinal properties of plants and minerals led him to write descriptions of many varieties and their places of origin; so that it is possible from him to find a little concerning the local products of Sicily.[2] Later sources refer to Sicily only incidentally, and it is from these scattered references that the picture of the island under the late Empire must be pieced out.

[1] Strabo, VI, 2-7.

[2] Pliny, N. H., XI, 14; XVII, 35; XVIII, 8.12.54.

There are left for discussion only the inscriptions, Greek and Latin, and coins, which have survived in varying abundance from the period under consideration. Of Greek inscriptions dated within the Roman era, few of importance have survived, in spite of the fact that Greek continued in common use even into the time of the Empire. More Latin inscriptions of the period have been found, mostly of the early Empire. They are of interest as they show the officers of the municipia and the coloniae, and have occasional references to religious observances and officials, collegia, etc.

The coins of Sicily increased in number under early Roman domination. Many Sicilian communities, such as Amistratus, Cephaloedium, Iaetia, Lilybaeum, Paropus, Petra, etc., which had never before possessed the right of coinage, now issued bronze coins. In Syracuse and Tauromenium issues continued in all metals until the time of Tiberius. The coins deteriorated both in beauty and interest from earlier issues.[1] They have, however, some value for the student of history. They give evidence of religious beliefs, since they often were stamped with the heads of popular deities. They not infrequently bore the names of Roman officials in the province, or commemorated events of importance in her history.[2]

[1] Head, B. V. Historia Numorum, 115, 118.
[2] Cf. Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, 204.

CHAPTER I

The Political and Economical Background

I. THE GREEK PERIOD

In order to gain an adequate idea of the political and economic status of the island of Sicily at the moment it passed under Roman control, it is necessary to view for a moment the history of her previous development, the growth of the states which figured most conspicuously in all her history, and the social and political influences which blended with Roman factors in the later history of the island. Of the important races which inhabited Sicily at the period of Roman conquest those of greatest antiquity in the island were the Siculi and the Sicani, whose origin is much disputed. Signor Orsi, probably the greatest living authority on the archaeological remains of these primitive folk, concludes that they were two related peoples who succeeded each other on Sicilian soil, both being of Italic race and origin. There is no appreciable difference between the monuments which the two have left, — chiefly rock-cut tombs similar to those found in Crete, Cyprus and other Greek islands.[1] Before Phoenician and Greek colonization, settlements of these people were scattered very generally over the island, as is evidenced by necropolises found near Akragas (the Roman Agrigentum) in the southwest, and near Syracuse in the east. Pausanias states that a Sicanian settlement stood on or near the later site of

[1] A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Notes on Excavations, American Journal of Archaeology, 1890, pp. 387 ff.

Gela.[1] The more vigorous Greek and Phoenician communities very naturally supplanted or assimilated their predecessors on the fertile coast lands. The new colonies were founded for the most part at the mouths of small rivers; the banks of such rivers formed the most fertile fields for agriculture, and their mouths were frequently the best harbors to be had. The Greeks, as was natural, appropriated the east coast facing the homeland. Here the very fine natural harbors, e. g. at Messana and more especially at Syracuse, provided facilities for commerce in the goods which the cities produced themselves, or which might be transported from the interior. The Phoenicians, working around the African coast and Malta, founded colonies on the west and northwest. These like other Phoenician colonies were on the whole less interested in agriculture than in trade.

The inland plateaus were probably inhabited in part by people of the older stock, who, protected by the inaccessibility of their settlements, preserved not only a certain independence, but the habits and customs of their ancestors along with their primitive form of habitation and sepulture even down to the Roman period.[2]

[1] VIII, 46, 2.

[2] Report of Signor Orsi's Excavations at Pantalica, American Journal of Archaeology, 1890, p. 384. Signor Orsi has found at the tableland of Pantalica, at the junction of the river Anapo and its confluent, the Calcinara, the remains of a primitive population, perhaps of shepherds, who appear to have lived in large caves and in cabins of cane work and mud. Nearby a great necropolis contains one thousand sepulchral cells of all periods extending from the earliest pre-Hellenic to the Roman period. The cells have a trapezoidal or quadrangular window followed by a short corridor leading to the sepulchral chamber. The earliest cells are oval; the later are flat. They date from at least the 11th century B. C., as is proved by the discovery of two bronze poniard blades antedating the iron age. Strabo (VI, 11, 4) also relates that the Siculi and the Sicani inhabited Sicily in his day.

Greek and Phoenician colonization was active in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries.[1] Our chief authorities for the colonization and early history of these settlements are scattered references in Herodotus and Thucydides.[2] Thucydides' account of the Athenian Expedition gives a valuable picture of the chief cities of Sicily at the end of the fifth century. During this and the following centuries the important settlements on the island came to their rich development. Of these the greatest were Akragas in the northwest, called by Pindar *κάλλιστα βροτεᾶν πολίων*,[3] and Syracuse in the east. Both show even to-day in the grandeur of their ruins the greatness of their wealth and power. In Akragas in the sixth and fifth centuries were built the fortifications of the Acropolis, the aqueducts, fish ponds, and resplendent temples.[4] Its great wealth was due largely to its export trade in grain, wine and oil.[5] At its height its population numbered 200,000, of whom 20,000 were full citizens.[6] Still the very proximity to Carthage which stimulated the city's trade later proved a source of

[1] The idea that Phoenician colonization antedated the Greek is disputed by modern authorities. Cf. Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, 14. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 246; Pt. II, ¶ 95.

[2] Thucydides VI, 2, 4; Herodotus VII, 153-156.

[3] Pindar, Pyth. XII, 2.

[4] Polyaenus V, 1; VI, 51; Polybius IX, 27, 7.

[5] Hülsen, in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopadie, on Akragas, states on the authority of Salinas, Revue Numismatique, 1867, p. 339, as evidence of the early prosperity of Akragas that it was the first of all the Sicilian states to adopt the Aeginetan standard, though later, in the sixth century, it went over to the Attic. Hill, on the other hand, places no coinage of Akragas before the middle of the sixth century, when it used the Euboic-Attic standard. He enumerates only three cities which used the Aeginetan standard and changed to the Attic, namely: Zancle, Naxos, and Himera. See Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, 36-41, 49.

[6] Diodorus XIII, 84, 90; Beloch, Bevölkerung, 281.

decline; for the city fell into Carthaginian hands in 406, and henceforth could not but figure as a Phoenician base. As such, it was subject to siege, capture, and despoliation by enemies of Carthage in all the many wars on the island in which the Carthaginians were embroiled.

Syracuse, which outstripped even Akragas in size and wealth, was reputed by the ancients to be the greatest of Greek cities and the most beautiful of all.[1] It was as large as four cities with its four divisions, the island of Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis, adorned with magnificent temples and statues of the gods, theatre, gymnasium, fora, and public buildings. This city, too, flourished largely on account of her trade with Greece, to which she exported all the rich products for which Sicily was famous [2] — cheese,[3] tallow [4] and grain.[5] Pindar shows that the Sicilian reputation for agricultural wealth was strong in the Greece of his day.[6]

Cloth,[7] vases,[8] and other products prove that in manufacturing, also, Syracuse was not to be surpassed unless by Athens.[9]

[1] Cicero, In Verrem II, 4, 52.

[2] Hermippus, in Athenaeus I, 27.

[3] Aristophanes, Vesp. 838; Philemon in Athenaeus XIV, 6.

[4] Plutarch, Nik. 1.

[5] Demosthenes vs. Zenothemis IV, p. 883 ; vs. Dionysod. IX, p. 1285 ; Diodorus XI, 72.

[6] Pindar, Pyth. I, 12.

[7] Plutarch, Alexander, 1.

[8] Walters, History of Ancient Pottery I, 86 ff.

[9] Meyer, Kleine Schriften, p. 134; Walters, History of Ancient Pottery I, 11. The numerous importations of vases from Corinth to Sicily and Italy in the 7th century show the maritime importance of that city and the extent of her commercial relations. Corinth first held the supremacy in Sicilian trade. She was then surpassed by Athens. The fact that after the middle of the 5th century the red-figured Attic vases are seldom found in Sicilian or Italian tombs

Of Sicilian love for art there is ample proof in the orations of Cicero against Verres, where innumerable references are made to statues and gold and silver vessels which adorned even the smaller towns and were a part of the inherited wealth of the less pretentious families. Many of the pieces mentioned were not of Sicilian origin, but bore the names of art masters of Greece or were described as coming from some Greek city. Such were the bronze breast-plates and helmets of Corinthian workmanship in the temple of Cybele at Enguinum, the choice goblets from the hand of Mentor, which were owned by Diodorus of Malta, the statue of Apollo, by Myron, at Agrigentum, and that of Herakles, by the same master, in Syracuse, the statue of Sappho, by Silanion, and a Cupid, by Praxiteles, at Syracuse, and the Hydria, by Boethus of Chalcedon, owned by Pamphilus of Lilybaeum.[1] Numerous other references to Corinthian or Delphic or Delian ware are to be found. These works of art are, to be sure, no proof of local creative power, but are evidences both of a love for the beautiful, which was sought out in all parts of Greece, and of a wealth derived from trade in local products which made possible the acquiring of these treasures.

Statues of local deities or of local men of fame, as of

bears witness to the blow dealt to Athenian supremacy by the Peloponnesian War. The gradual growth of local fabrics shows that the colonists of Magna Graecia at that time began themselves to supply local demands. One example of a very beautiful Sicilian alabastron is published by H. de Ridder, Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliotheque Nationale, n. 312. In the field at the left is an ephebus, with chlamys on his left arm. On his right he carries an alabastron. He approaches a woman seated at the right, perhaps Artemis. She is clothed in a chiton and a himation. In her right hand she holds a flower, while with her left she strokes a hound. The vase is an excellent example of the exquisite workmanship of Sicilian artists of the Greek period.

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 1.2.3.18.19.21.43.44.59.

Chrysas,[1] Himera,[2] Stesichorus,[3] and all the marvellous gold and ivory decorations of temples [4] were undoubtedly made by the Sicilians who delighted in them, as were also, in all probability, many of the old cult statues of Greek gods, which Cicero describes as being exquisitely wrought and frequently of great size.[5] The paintings of the Sicilian tyrants in the Temple of Athena at Syracuse may well have been by Sicilian artists. The fact that each family possessed antique silver dishes used in the worship of the gods is thought by Cicero to attest the presence, at an earlier date, of extensive silver workshops in the island.

In medicine Sicily could boast of Akron of Akragas, the founder of the group of Empiricists, who were sufficiently scientific to base their rules upon the results of experiments. This group was afterwards to attain fame through Hippocrates, Chrysippus, Erasistratus, and other noteworthy Greeks.[6] In the field of law, the Sicilian cities shared with those of South Italy the results of the codifications by Zaleucus and Charondas.[7] To philosophy they contributed Empedocles,[8] to rhetoric, Gorgias. Thus in every phase of life, economic and cultural, they kept pace during the Greek era with the Greek mainland.

Of political events in the Greek period only enough need be detailed to account for the situation at the beginning of the First Punic War. Nearly every Greek city of any importance had passed for a period or for recurring periods under the rule of tyrants, and it was usually by the force-

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 44.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 35.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 35.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 56.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 49.
[6] Pliny, N. H. XXIX, 4.
[7] Seneca, Ep. XIV, 2.
[8] Diogenes Laertius VIII, 63.

fulness of such rulers that individual cities spread their suzerainty over their neighbors. In 480 the two chief cities, Syracuse and Akragas, supported by their subject cities, were able to repulse and drive from the island the Carthaginian armies. In 474 Hiero I, king of Syracuse, aided Cumae, which was suffering an attack by the Etruscans, aided and abetted by Carthage. The Greeks were victorious. The Etruscans were overwhelmingly defeated and never recovered from the blow. In 413, Syracuse had annihilated the besieging Athenian forces. In the war which was renewed with Carthage in 405, Dionysius became tyrant, and, though he defeated the Carthaginians in several conflicts, he thought it best to conclude a treaty with them which left in their hands the western end of the island. Through the rule of Dionysius II, Timoleon, and Agathocles, the relations of Syracuse and Carthage were marked by various attempts of Carthage to increase her territory and by efforts of Syracuse to drive the Phoenicians from the island, though both Timoleon and Agathocles were able to conclude treaties which limited the Carthaginian territory to the third of the island west of the River Halycus. Sicily was not yet a bone of contention between Rome and Carthage, who were on a friendly treaty basis. Even on that part of the island which was subject to Carthage, Rome was allowed to trade on the same terms as with Carthage herself.[1]

2. THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST

Because of the fortunate circumstance that several of Sicily's most illustrious men, whose works or reputation has survived to the present day, lived at the interesting period when the island passed from Greek and Carthaginian to Roman domination, we are able to know a little more than

[1] Polybius III, 22-25.

we otherwise should of the state of agriculture and wealth, science and philosophy, when Rome assumed control. A decision may therefore be made at a later period in the discussion, concerning the relative advantages and disadvantages of Roman provincial rule in Sicily.[1]

Theocritus gives a particularly vivid and charming picture of rural agricultural life in his day.[2] From him we know of the wheat-bearing ploughlands and orchards and upland farms where the fountains spring, over which the slaves go laboring all day long, sowing and reaping the thrice and four times ploughed land.[3] In harvest they swing their scythes in measured rhythm, neighbor keeping time with neighbor as they cut the long straight swaths, felling the grain toward the south, as thus the grain ripens most richly. The reapers rest in the noonday heat and then continue their labor till sundown. The threshers work while the day is hot since at noon the chaff parts most easily from the straw.[4]

The country folk live in long rows of huts near the fields which they till. None of the brutalizing effects of control of masses of slave labor has yet been felt. No dungeon-like *ergastula* yet confine human beings, less cared for than beasts of burden in their master's toil.

Besides the cultivation of grain there is that of the vine. The wine press employs throngs of laborers at the coming of mid-summer.[5]

But of even greater picturesqueness is the life of the herdsmen, although the tending of flocks and herds has not crowded out agriculture as it did at a later day. Some of the shepherd youths are slaves. Others tend their fathers'

[1] Vide infra, pp. 113, 119, 120, 128.

[2] Vide supra, p. 9.

[3] Theocritus, Idyl XXV, 25-32.

[4] Theocritus, Idyl X, 48-49.

[5] Theocritus, Idyl XXV, 1.

flocks.[1] But all seem to share a carefree, happy life, revelling in the enjoyment of nature, as they lie piping to their flocks and sing in rivalry of their loves, with bowls of milk and honey for prizes.[2]

Their clothing is of the simplest; the tawny skin of the rough he-goat, with the smell of rennet clinging to it, the goatherd wears about his shoulders, and about his breast an old cloak buckled with a plaited belt. Each carries a stout staff with which to herd the sheep or fight wild animals. For food they have milk and cheese and the flesh of their flocks,[3] or puddings hissing hot from the fire of oak faggots, and roasted beech nuts.[4]

At night they herd their flocks from the flowering water-meadows near the river banks, where the finest pasture is, up to the pens, each built apart for its particular herd.[5] The faithful shepherd dogs, chief protection of the flocks against strangers or wild beasts, aid in the herding.[6]

At the pens there is a great bustling of labor. One herdsman fastens guards of wood with shapely thongs about the feet of the kine, that he may milk them. Another places the calves beneath their mothers. Another holds a milking pail while his fellow prepares the cheese. Another leads in the bulls apart from the cows. Meanwhile the owner goes from stall to stall, noting how his cattle are cared for.[7]

Throughout all Theocritus we have a picture of the greatest wealth. Cows, goats, and sheep are kept, and the products include milk, cheese, hides, tallow and wool. The

[1] Theocritus, Idyl VIII, 15, 16.

[2] Theocritus, Idyl V, 59, 60; Jebb, Classical Greek Poetry, 263-5.

[3] Theocritus, Idyl I, 5, 6.

[4] Theocritus, Idyl IX, 19, 20.

[5] Theocritus, Idyl XXV, 12.

[6] Theocritus, Idyl VIII, 65, 66.

[7] Theocritus, Idyl XXV, 100-109.

pastures are luxuriant. The bees fill the hives. The oaks grow to a greater height than is common. Ewes bear twins and everywhere the cows' udders are swollen with milk and the younglings are fostered. The invocation to Hiero is the crowning picture. "May our people till the flowering fields and may thousands of sheep unnumbered fatten amid the herbage, and bleat o'er the plain, while the kine as they come in droves to the stalls warn the belated traveller to hasten on his way. May the fallows be broken for seed time — May spiders weave their delicate webs over all martial gear."

Fishing figured in Sicily to a much less degree than the raising of grain and the herding of flocks, and yet was an industry of some importance. Our only fragment of Ennius' translation of the Hedyphagetica, or Sicilian cook book, mentions in its seven lines ten different varieties of fish popular as foods in the island.[1] Theocritus also gives a picture of the humble fishermen at home and at their toil.[2] Their days were spent casting great nets from the rocks on the shore or from their boats, and dragging in their finny spoil. At night they slept on beds of dry sea-moss, in wattled cabins at the very border of the sea. Beneath their heads lay a scanty matting, their clothes and their sailor caps. Neither dog nor door prevented entrance over the threshold, since none would wish to rob them of the poor utensils of their toil which lay strewn about — their fishing creels, and rods of reed, hooks, sea-bedraggled sails, their lines, and seines and lobster pots of woven rushes, the old coble in which they put the fish they caught, and their two oars. Their life was hard, their fare simple and scant. Yet they might enjoy the sport of playing and drawing in great fish; and if they sacrificed at midnight to the moon goddess,

[1] Ennius, Varia, 34-40.

[2] Theocritus, Idyl XXI.

the sacred fish called "Silver-white," praying for luck and wealth, they might afterward, so they believed, set their nets with sure expectation of drawing them full from the sea.[1]

Economic wealth and scientific enlightenment were evidenced in the famous ship of Hiero, the reputation of which spread over the whole Mediterranean world during its day; if the description left by Moschius is to be believed, this ship must have nearly rivalled some of our modern steamships in the luxury of its appointments. It was of such a size that the wood cut for it on Mt. Aetna would have been sufficient for sixty triremes; additional wood for special purposes in connection with this vessel was brought from Italy.[2] For it, again, cordage was brought from Spain, hemp and pitch from the river Rhone. Three hundred shipwrights and artisans brought from every quarter were employed in working up the timber. As soon as the hull was finished and covered with plates of lead, it was launched by Archimedes by means of a helix.[3] Six months later the ship was finished, each plank being held in place by brazen nails, driven in holes made by gimlets, and fastened to the wood with leaden plugs.

The ship was constructed with twenty banks of oars, and was completely furnished with eating salons, holding from four to fifteen couches, a galley, gymnasium, and walks, gardens of wonderful beauty enriched with all sorts of plants, a temple to Venus, a library, baths. The temple was magnificently finished with mosaic floors of beautiful stones, cyprus-wood walls, pictures and statues, goblets and vases. The library was fitted with a case for books; there was a sun-dial on its roof.[4]

[1] Theocritus, Fragment of Berenice, in Athenaeus VII, 284.
[2] Athenaeus V, 40; Torr, Ancient Ships, 27.
[3] Plutarch, Marcellus, 14.
[4] Athenaeus V, 41, 42.

Besides all this there was adequate provision for all the ordinary necessities of ship transport. Many rooms were prepared for the marines; horse-stalls and compartments for the fodder, and for the arms and saddles of the horsemen, were ready at hand. For food and drink, a cistern containing two thousand measures of fresh water had been prepared; near it there was a well of sea water containing great numbers of fish. Ovens and mills were also there. Still there was room for sixty thousand measures of grain, ten thousand jars of Sicilian salt fish, twenty thousand talents weight of wool, and twenty thousand talents weight of other goods, which formed the cargo of the ship.[1] To protect so valuable a transport the decks were furnished with eight towers for hurling stones and darts, with a catapult for hurling larger rocks, and with three masts bearing yards from which weights could be dropped on enemies. All this required a numerous armed force beside the crew of six hundred.[2]

The existence of such a ship as this is strong evidence of a thriving carrying trade between the coast cities of Sicily and those of Greece, Egypt and the East. Further proof is derived from the existence of proxenoi in Sicilian cities who looked after the interests of foreign cities, — interests which would be largely bound up with trade. (The proxenos remained a resident of the city of which he was a native, but endeavored to promote favorable relations with certain foreign cities which he represented. The system thus contrasts with our consular system as usually established.[3] Inscriptions exist showing that a Syracusan was proxenos both of Malta and Agrigentum in 210.[4])

[1] Athenaeus V, 44. [2] Athenaeus V, 43.

[3] It is not uncommon to-day, however, to entrust consular functions to citizens of the place in which the consulate is located, but this is not the rule.

[4] I. G. S. I. 951, 953.

Archimedes, whose skill in launching this huge ship was lauded by the ancients, was to achieve even greater fame by his devices for the defense of the city of Syracuse, which kept the Romans at bay by land and sea for a whole winter during the Second Punic War. He enjoyed abstract speculations more than their concrete applications, however, and refused to leave any writings describing his machines, but "placed his whole study and delight in those speculations in which absolute beauty and excellence appear unhampered by the necessities of life." [1] He did leave a work on floating bodies, however, of which we have a Latin translation, which establishes his position as founder of physics in the modern sense of the word.[2]

An idea may be gained of the philosophy and the religion of the savants of Sicily in this period from the Sacred Inscription of Euhemerus, translated by Ennius. Euhemerus of Messana was a friend of Cassander, king of Macedonia, who confided to him certain missions in distant lands. From this he got the idea for his work "The Sacred Inscription" — Ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή — in which he recounts, in the form of a romance, many of his experiences. The chief value of the book lies in the narration of the discovery of an inscription to Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus, which records that they were ancient mortal kings of the land of Petraea. Its teaching is fundamentally atheistic, and a logical development of the teachings of the Eleatic school and of Protagoras, whose doctrines flourished in the island at an earlier date.[3]

Timaeus of Tauromenium was the most celebrated historian of his time. Although born in the middle of the

[1] Plutarch, Marcellus, XVII. On his devices see ibid. XV; Diodorus XXVI, 18; Dio Cassius, Zonaras, IX, 4; Livy XXIV, 34.

[2] Croiset, Lit. Grecque, p. 142; Christ, Griechische Literaturgeschichte, II, 213 ff.

[3] Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum I, 42.

fourth century, he lived till nearly the middle of the third century, and therefore into our period. He wrote many of his works in Athens, where he lived fifty years, but returned to Syracuse under the reign of Hiero II.[1] His chief work was a history of Sicily in forty to fifty books, which we have only in fragments. Polybius accused him of ignorance, superstition, and partiality, but credited him at least with a vast amount of erudite compilation.[2] His weakness lay in the fact that he relied wholly upon books.

Theocritus, who has already been used extensively as a source for the agricultural and pastoral life of his time, must not be disregarded as the first great writer of bucolic poetry. Inspired by the rich vitality of rural life in Sicily, his native land,[3] and gifted with a strong and vibrant sensibility and the power of creating living personages,[4] he poured forth his soul in sincere expression of the world about him, of which his every sense was acutely aware. In one of his Idyls [5] he laments that his wealthy compatriots so little appreciated his power to bring them joy and fame. He was typical of an age which was devoted to the emotional and the natural. He had lived long at Alexandria, the city which thrilled most deeply with the renewed vigor of Hellenism, and he brought its charm and potency back to Sicily. It is significant for Roman development of art and thought that the Greek world was being infused with this new life when Rome became her master.

[1] Cf. Diodorus XXI, 16, 5.

[2] Polybius XII, 3-15, 23-28. Croiset, Lit. Grecque, V, 261-295.

[3] Theocritus, Epigram XXIII; Idyl XI, 7.

[4] Croiset, Lit. Grecque, p. 186; Christ, Griechische Literatur-geschichte, II, 141, 146-148.

[5] Theocritus, Idyl XVI, 1-75.

CHAPTER II

Roman Conquest and Organization of the Province

I. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

In the first quarter of the third century before Christ, affairs in Sicily came to take on a new aspect. Pyrrhus, in his fruitless attempt at Sicilian domination, succeeded only in increasing the burdens of a people already much harassed by strife.[1] Carthage had gained possession of the greater part of the island, and the territory of Syracuse had dwindled, except for Tauromenium, to the southeast corner of the island. Rome, the real antagonist of Carthage, had extended her rule over all southern Italy, except Tarentum, which fell into her hands in 272. It took no great political sagacity in Pyrrhus to predict the future clash of Carthage and Rome over the rich and beautiful island which would give to either, if conqueror, so great a military advantage over the other.

The question whether the desire of Rome for the island was chiefly strategic or economic is difficult to answer. That Rome was already dependent upon countries outside of Italy for a part of her grain may be argued from the fact that Hiero sent grain to Rome during the Celtic Wars,[2] that at the end of the First Punic War he distributed two hundred thousand modii of wheat among the people of Rome,[3] that he offered to supply grain gratuitously, as well as clothing and arms, at the beginning of the Second Punic

[1] Appian, Samnite Wars, IV, 12.

[2] Diodorus, XXV, 14.

[3] Eutropius, III, 1.

War,[1] and that he did contribute large quantities of food just before the Battle of Cannae.[2] Polybius relates that in the Second Punic War the allies of the interior of Sicily were obliged to furnish grain.[3] It must be remembered, however, that all this was in time of war, when Rome's own production of food, even if ordinarily sufficient, would be seriously interrupted. The fact that Hiero contributed grain gratuitously makes the hypothesis of a long established trade in the article improbable; and the mention of the fact that the allies of the interior of Sicily furnished grain would seem superfluous if they had done so regularly in the past. Greenidge holds that Italian agriculture continued to be the basis of the brilliant life of Rome for a century after the Punic Wars. He believes that otherwise an epoch of revolution could not have been ushered in by an agrarian law: "Had the interest in the land been small, no fierce attack would have been made, and no encroachment stoutly resisted."[4]

To keep eastern Sicily from the hands of her powerful rival was certainly a strategic necessity for Rome, if she were to preserve her dominance in south Italy. The First Punic War was not entered into eagerly, but circuitously and at first half-heartedly,[5] a fact which lends favor to the opinion that the issue was not immediately a hunger issue, but rather a defense issue.

The immediate occasion of the struggle between these two rivals was provided by the Mamertines, at a time when neither party particularly desired to enter on aggressive warfare, but under circumstances which made it imperative to both. The Mamertines, a band of mercenary soldiers of

[1] Livy XXI, 50.
[2] Livy XXII, 37.
[3] Polybius I, 3, 8.
[4] History of Rome, Vol. I, p. 59.
[5] Polybius I, 11; Dio Cassius, Zonaras, VIII, 8.

Agathocles, had at that tyrant's death, in 289, taken upon themselves the life of soldiers of fortune, and had, in the course of their adventures, answered the appeal of the citizens of Messana for military assistance. With the natural perfidy of highwaymen, they had seized the city, murdered the grown men, divided among themselves the women and children and estates, and taken up their abode within the city.[1] This had taken place in 284 B. C., and neither Rome nor Carthage had found it in its interests to intervene, so that for a time they enjoyed, undisturbed, their lawless plundering.

Syracuse, however, suffered more deeply from her new and aggressive rivals, and, as circumstances chanced, she soon found herself in a position to oppose them. Shortly before this time the military force of Syracuse had quarrelled with the citizen body, and had elected as generals Artemidorus and Hiero.[2] Such elections were seldom sanctioned by the civil body, but, in this case, Hiero proved himself so mild and diplomatic in his policy that he endeared himself to the whole people. His first step was to get rid of the large body of mercenaries of dubious character which formed a dangerous element in the body politic. Leading them as a vanguard against the Mamertines, he deserted them in the thick of the fight and allowed them to be cut to pieces by the enemy. Then he returned and collected a new body of mercenaries who would be loyal to him and to his command. With these he defeated the Mamertines in open battle near Mylae, thereby gaining for himself at Syracuse great popularity and the kingly title, and overwhelming his enemy with dismay.[3]

The Mamertines, if they yielded to the Syracusans, who

[1] Polybius I, 7.

[2] Polybius I, 8.

[3] Polybius I, 9.

now besieged them within their city, could hope for no mercy. The only solution lay in an appeal to Rome or to Carthage, and such appeals were made at once. The petition to Rome placed the city in a difficult situation. On moral grounds, aid was questionable, for she had just severely punished her own soldiers who had outraged Rhegium in a manner similar to the seizure of Messana by the Mamertines. Political and military exigencies, however, dictated the measure, for, if the Mamertines should not secure an alliance with Rome, they would certainly have recourse to the Carthaginians. Their control of a city of such importance and situated in close proximity to the straits would be a distinct peril to Roman rule in southern Italy.[1] The senate deliberated long; but the people voted in favor of sending aid, and despatched Gaius Appius Claudius with troops to the strait. That by sending troops to Sicily, Rome in any way violated treaty agreements with Carthage is not established. Philinus,[2] a partisan of the Carthaginians, states this to be the case, but Polybius [3] has vigorously denied it.

The delay of the Romans very nearly cost them the opportunity of extending their aid, for the appeal of the Mamertines to the Carthaginians had brought more instant response. The latter concluded a peace with Hiero both for the Mamertines and for themselves in order to prevent the Romans from crossing to the island and to keep for themselves the guardianship of strait and city.[4] The first attempt of Claudius to win over the city to the Romans was without avail, but, when a little later he found sources

[1] Dio Cassius, Zonaras, VIII, 8; Livy, Epitome Bk. XVI; Polybius I, 10, 11.

[2] Polybius I, 14, 15.

[3] Polybius (III, 26, 28) is certainly ignorant of such a treaty, which may nevertheless have existed.

[4] Dio Cassius, Zonaras, VIII, 8.

of disagreement between Messana and Carthage, he set about to proffer friendship and to render the Carthaginian leaders unpopular.[1] Having accomplished as much as he could in this way, he returned to Italy to bring over his fleet. The first attempt ended in disaster, but finally a careful study of the winds and currents was rewarded by a safe passage, and the Mamertines were persuaded to demand the removal of the Carthaginian troops which held the capitol.[2] Hanno at first refused, but, when he was seized by Roman troops in the public assembly, he bought his freedom by withdrawing his troops, and soon after paid with his life for his cowardice and folly.

The Carthaginians were now angered into more vigorous action. Ordering the Romans to leave Sicily by a certain day, they set both fleet and army in motion to besiege the city. Hiero, too, was greatly disturbed at the support which his enemy had received from Rome, and joined Carthage in besieging Messana. These measures induced Claudius again to cross the straits to relieve the city. He was successful, and the Syracusans withdrew. The next year Hiero made terms with the Romans and secured an alliance most favorable to the development and refinement of culture in Syracuse during his reign.

The next event of importance was the siege and capture of Agrigentum by the Romans in 262, the year following the alliance with Hiero. Since this city was the headquarters of the Phoenicians,[3] and possessed great natural resources, its capture was of great military significance, and

[1] Polybius I, 11.

[2] The basis for Professor Frank's assumption (Roman Imperialism, p. 107, note 4) that there was no Carthaginian garrison in the city is inexplicable in the face of Polybius' direct account of their presence. See Polybius I, 11; Dio Cassius, Zonaras, VIII, 9.

[3] Polybius I, 17.

was accomplished only by a long siege.[1] From the account of Polybius we are led to believe that not until after the capture of Agrigentum did the Romans aspire to the conquest of the whole island,[2] and prepare for the undertaking by building a fleet. Then began a series of naval successes and failures which in turn raised the Romans to exulting hopes or plunged them into the depths of despair. For ten years the fighting was indecisive. A series of naval successes off Ecnomus in 256 was followed by the failure of Regulus' expedition into Africa.[3]

The second decade of the war was characterized by successes and failures on both sides. At one period the naval losses were so heavy that Rome for three years gave up trying to rely on her fleet; during this time she put her whole faith in her land forces, which were opposing Hamilcar at Eryx. Finally the Romans plucked up courage to build a fleet for a third time, largely by private loan. With these ships they defeated Hanno off the Aegates islands and the Carthaginians directed Hamilcar, their still undefeated general, to come to terms.[4]

The terms agreed upon at the end of the First Punic War are given by Polybius. They stipulated that the Carthaginians should evacuate the whole of Sicily and should pay to the Romans in twenty years twenty-two hundred Euboic talents of silver.[5] The Roman people at first refused to ratify the treaty and appointed ten commissioners to arrange the terms, but, though the war indemnity was increased and the time of payment shortened, no change was made affecting Sicily. Thus the fate of Sicily came to be inextricably interwoven with that of Rome. With Car-

[1] Polybius I, 19.
[2] Polybius I, 20.
[3] Polybius I, 30-35.
[4] Polybius I, 59-61; Cornelius Nepos, Hamilcar I.
[5] Polybius I, 62.

thage, too, she was not altogether unconcerned for some years to come, but never again as a state exercising sovereign power in the island. By the terms of the treaty all of Sicily except Syracuse passed directly into Roman hands. The fate of Syracuse must next be set forth.

2. THE FALL OF SYRACUSE

Throughout the reign of Hiero, the Syracusans enjoyed the benefits of the special favor and friendship of Rome. Hiero wisely saw that in time of peace this friendship must be more carefully fostered than ever, since he could not turn to Carthage as an alternative mistress, nor could he rely on the great value of his services to Rome to preserve her friendliness. Apprehending the precarious nature of his position, Hiero planned his policy with all the shrewdness and diplomacy of a statesman, in both foreign and domestic relations. He carried on a friendly intercourse with the Egyptian princes, an intercourse facilitated by similarities of coinage.[1] When the Rhodians were disturbed by an earthquake, he succored them with grain for food, gold for restoring public buildings, and graced his gift with two statues, as if he were the recipient instead of the bestower of favor. Within his own kingdom, too, he maintained a reputation for statesmanship and clemency. Disclaiming the outward garb and show of royalty, he devoted his energies to the welfare of his people, through the improvement of agriculture and the fostering of arts and culture. The former made possible the increase of wealth through shipments of grain to Rome, Carthage, Alexandria and Rhodes,[2] while the latter shed great glory on his reign through the rise of magnificent public buildings, — gymnasia, temples, palace and theatres.[3]

[1] Catalogue of British Museum, Ptolemies XC.

[2] Diodorus XXV, 14; XXVI, 8.

[3] Athenaeus V, 40.

During his lifetime, Sicily kept fairly free from the entanglements of the Second Punic War. His open allegiance to Rome, avowed by his gift to the Roman people of a golden statue of victory, three hundred thousand modii of wheat, two hundred thousand of barley, and a thousand archers and slingers did not encourage approaches of the Carthaginians, even though the statue of victory proved of ill omen to the Romans at Cannae.[1] One attempt was made by the Carthaginians to seize southern Italy and Sicily while Hannibal engaged the Romans in northern Italy. A fleet of twenty quinqueremes sailed along the coast of Campania laying waste the land. But an adverse wind drove three ships into the straits, where Hiero effected their capture. The captives disclosed a plan of attack on Sicily, and Hiero's prompt warning to the praetor, Marcus Aemilius, led to the defeat of the Carthaginians with a loss of seven ships and seventeen hundred men.[2]

The death of Hiero, in 215, however, greatly altered the affairs of the Sicilians and their relation to Rome. The heir to the Syracusan throne, Hieronymus, was a boy of fifteen. His guardians and friends saw in him a tool by which their ambitions might be satisfied. To guard against this Hiero is said to have formed the intention of leaving Syracuse free, but, being strenuously opposed, he compromised on fifteen guardians, and in his will carefully admonished them, for the safety of Syracuse, to maintain friendly relations with Rome.[3] The will was read in public assembly and approved. The funeral of the old king was duly solemnized. Then Andranodorus, the uncle of Hieronymus and the most influential of the guardians, effected the removal of the rest by declaring the young king to be of age, and voluntarily withdrawing from the guardianship.

[1] Livy XXII, 37.
[2] Livy XXI, 49, 50.
[3] Livy XXIV, 4.

The remaining fourteen followed his example; so Hieronymus was left apparently free, but in fact was dominated by his two uncles, sons-in-law of Hiero, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who favored the Carthaginians.[1]

As a result of the sending of ambassadors from the Syracusan leaders to Hannibal to seek alliance, there were sent back two Carthaginians who were to figure largely in the history of Syracuse during the next few years, Hippocrates and Epicydes. An alliance was formed with Carthage, in spite of the warnings of Appius Claudius, the Roman praetor. According to this compact the Romans were to be expelled from all Sicily, and the island was to be divided between Carthage and Syracuse, at the river Himera. The ambitions of Hieronymus were cut short by his assassination, at the hands of his own troops, whom he had led against Roman garrisons in Leontini.[2]

While the murder of Hieronymus did not have the immediate effect of a truce with Rome, this might eventually have been the result had it not been for an unfortunate episode of Leontini. When the Roman commander Marcellus put to death there some two thousand deserters, the execution led to the unhappy rumor of a general massacre, a rumor which spread rapidly to the Syracusans and was made the most of by enemies of Rome.[3] Syracuse was again brought into virtual alliance with Carthage, and Rome was obliged to resort to active warfare to regain control. After the Romans had sent ambassadors to Syracuse both by land and sea, without avail, they began a formal siege. The natural advantages of the city, and still more the mechanical devices of the great Syracusan mathematician, Archimedes,[4] made this a difficult military operation.

[1] Livy XXVI, 5.
[2] Livy XXIV, 7.
[3] Plutarch, Marcellus XIV; Livy XXIV, 30.
[4] Vide supra, p. 25.

Throughout the winter Syracuse resisted all attempts at seizure, but finally a night attack, made when religious observances had relaxed the vigilance of the guards, resulted in the capture of a part of the city.[1] Some time later, when the unwholesome conditions of the long siege had bred a plague which nearly annihilated the Carthaginian auxiliaries, the Romans gained control of the whole city. All the accumulated wealth of the beautiful and cultured Greek city fell into the hands of the soldiers and was carried off to Rome to add to the influence of Greek culture in that city.[2]

Laevinus, who succeeded Marcellus in the command of Sicily, quickly took Agrigentum, the last stronghold of Carthaginian influence, killed the leaders and sold the rest of the population into slavery. Most of the remaining Sicilian cities then passed under Roman control; forty surrendered willingly, six were taken by storm, and twenty by treachery. The island was thus soon pacified.[3]

3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCE

The greater part of Sicily came into Roman possession in 241; but not until 227 did Rome organize the island and assign it to an official as his *provincia* — his sphere of duty. The term *provincia* now came to mean a group or aggregate of states, in this case city-states, under the jurisdiction of a magistrate sent from Rome. It was impracticable for several reasons to organize the island under a system of alliances such as were employed in Italy. The peoples of Sicily were not of the same race or culture as the Italian, nor was their loyalty to Rome unquestionable, as was later

[1] Plutarch, Marcellus, XVIII; Dio Cassius IX, 5.

[2] Livy XXV, 25.

[3] Dio Cassius, Zonaras IX, 6; Appian, V, 4; Plutarch, Marcellus II, III; Livy XXVI, 32.

to be proved in the Second Punic War, when many cities of the West fell away from their allegiance. Of greater weight, however, was the need of funds, which could here be collected without seriously antagonizing the subject people; for the Sicilians had for years been accustomed to the payment of tribute. Syracuse, which was not added until 212, alone may be said to have suffered by the new state of affairs; she had lost both her independence and a large part of her wealth through despoliation by the soldiers of Marcellus.[1]

In constituting the province of Sicily the Romans increased the number of praetors to four, so that one might be assigned to the island.[2] It must not be supposed, however, that all parts of Sicily enjoyed the same relations with Rome. In fact, there were four distinct groups of states, of which the third and the fourth only can, strictly speaking, be called the province.[3] The first of these classes com-

[1] Marquardt, Organisation de l'Empire Romain, II, 50-1. Holm (Geschichte Siciliens, III, 70-72, and note 8, 3) holds that before 227 B. C. there was very little discrimination between the people of Sicily and those of southern Italy. Both were conquered peoples, and difference in their treatment was unnecessary. The constitution of Sicily as a province in 227, however, and the subsequent levying of grain tribute concentrated Roman concern more and more on the produce of the island and less and less on its inhabitants until a very great distinction arose between the Italians, many of whom were *cives*, and the Sicilians, who in relation to Rome were almost *servi*.

[2] Livy XXV, 25. Still later the number was increased to six and remained so until with the beginning in 88 of permanent criminal courts (*Quaestiones perpetuae*) in Rome itself, the number was increased to eight, and all remained at Rome. Thenceforth, propraetors were the highest officials of the Sicilian province. These were elected to propraetorship at Rome. The continuance of their imperium as propraetors was the act of the Senate, but assignment to particular provinces was determined by lot. Livy XXXII, 27; Mommsen, Römische Staatsrecht II, 190-192.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 13. This passage is especially important in determining the status of the various cities of Sicily. It reads :

prised the allied states or *civitates foederatae.* Only three of these are known to have existed; they are mentioned by Cicero in his oration against Verres,[1] — Messana, Tauromenium and Neetum. Of these, Messana, situated in the northeast corner of the island in close proximity to the straits, owed her position to the aid she had given to Rome in securing the whole island. Tauromenium and Neetum, on the other hand, had belonged to the kingdom of Hiero, and Appian says of Tauromenium that it would yield to Marcellus only on an agreement of alliance confirmed by oath.[2] Neetum may have demanded similar concessions, though the receipt of special privileges by a city so insignificant is surprising. Only through its commanding position in relation to Syracuse can any great importance be attached to it.

These cities were placed on the level of Italian *socii,* in contradistinction to the others which were made subject. They were enjoined by their treaties to give aid to Rome if she were engaged in war, and Messana was obliged by the stipulations of her treaty to provide a ship.[3] They could pursue no foreign policy of their own, a fact we shall prove later, when we deal with the relations between cities within Sicily. They could, however, coin money,[4] and

Perpaucae civitates sunt bello a maioribus nostris subactae; quarum ager cum esset publicus populi Romani factus, tamen illis est redditus — is ager a censoribus locari solet. Foederatae civitates duae sunt, quarum decumanae venire non soleant, Mamertina et Tauromenitana; quinque praeterea sine foedere immunes civitates et liberae, Centuripina, Halaesina, Segestana, Halicynensis, Panhormitana; praeterea omnis ager Siciliae civitatum decumanus est; itemque ante imperium fuit. Neetum is not included in this first classification, but is added by Cicero, Verres, II, 4, 56 and 133.

[1] This indictment of one of the most infamous of Roman provincial governors is our chief source for the organization of the island.

[2] Appian V, 4.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 67; II, 5, 19.

[4] Head, Historia Numorum, 118.

were virtually free from the interference of Roman magistrates, while their own magistrates had jurisdiction over Roman citizens within the cities. In practice, however, neither the freedom nor the jurisdiction was complete, for Scipio and Verres are known to have summoned court at Messana, while Roman citizens would naturally submit to local jurisdiction in civil cases only.[1]

The second class of Sicilian states, those designated by Cicero as "*sine foedere immunes civitates et liberae*," were, as the words imply, free from tribute, but their freedom was more precarious than that of the first class, in that the latter were secured by a treaty which in theory, at any rate, might be altered or abrogated only at the consent of both parties, whereas the five cities of the second class, Centuripa, Halaesa, Segesta, Halicyae and Panormus, held their freedom as a favor of Rome, unsecured by any treaty. No common ground for the granting of the exemption can be found among the five cities. Halaesa in 263 yielded herself to Rome, setting an example followed by a great many other cities.[2] In 262 Segesta and Halicyae gave themselves up willingly.[3] But Centuripa was reduced only by siege and Panormus fell into Roman hands through treachery.[4] Centuripa may well have owed her exemption from taxation, her power of local jurisdiction, collection of her own port dues, financial administration, freedom from Roman garrisons, and other rights of the *civitates liberae et immunes* to her important site, which overlooked Syracusan territory, and to the fact that she became the seat of Roman influence in the east. Panormus, too, was the most powerful port on the north coast, well situated to serve the Roman citizens. The case of Diocles of Panormus in Segesta serves

[1] Livy XXVII, 21.
[2] Diodorus XXIV, 3; XIV, 16; Polybius I, 16.
[3] Diodorus XXIII, 4; XIV, 16; Polybius I, 24.
[4] Dio Cassius, Zonaras VIII, 14.

to show how strictly the privileges were limited to the citizens of the city. Diocles of Panormus, a free city, residing in Segesta, also a free city, was nevertheless obliged to pay the tenth required of foreigners.

The third class of Sicilian states, the first of the tribute-paying communities, is that designated by Cicero as *ager publicus populi Romani.* The exaction of tribute was based on the forcible seizure of land, during the war, and its return to the inhabitants in consideration of their payment of taxes which were farmed out by the censor of the Roman people. It undoubtedly also included land which was public or demesne land; such land existed, for example, in the kingdom of Hiero. We do not know the exact location of this land or how much of it there was. Hiero's demesne land was probably situated largely in fertile Leontini, and Leontini was *ager publicus populi Romani.*[1] The number of communities standing in this relation to Rome is in dispute. Cicero speaks of them as *perpaucae.* Holm, on the other hand, by a process of elimination whereby he deducts from the sixty-five censored cities thirty-four or thirty-five tithe-paying communities and the five free communities, comes to the conclusion that at least twenty-five fell into the class of *ager publicus.*[2] Frank, not following this process of deduction, believes that there were six, a number more agreeable to the statement of Cicero.[3] There may easily have been a greater stability in the status of these cities more directly controlled by Rome, but they paid the tenths levied on the fourth class, and it cannot be said that they were better treated than the latter.[4]

[1] Cicero, Philippica, II, 39, 101.

[2] Holm, Geschichte Siciliens III, 87.

[3] Frank, Roman Imperialism, 97, note.

[4] The fourth class are *dediticii,* who have technically lost personal liberty and are *servi,* not of any individual Romans but of the Roman populus. They are de facto free, on condition of paying poll taxes.

Finally there was the fourth of states,[1] which were simply tributary, not *ager publicus,* the so-called *civitates decumanae,* which paid one tenth of their annual produce to Rome. The tribute differed from that paid in any later province, in that in other provinces the tribute was a fixed amount, *stipendium,* while in Sicily, as said above, a tenth of the annual produce was paid by a method fixed in the so-called law of Hiero. The origin of the law is not known. Cicero ascribes it to Hiero, and points out that it was plain, by the safeguards employed in the law, both that the author was a tyrant who depended altogether on the tenths for his support, and also that he was concerned for the welfare of his subjects, for as much care is taken by the law to prevent extortion as to procure a just tenth. He believes that it was plain that a Sicilian was the author. Modern critics are dubious concerning this, on account of the great similarity between the system of the tenths in the Hieronic law — in so far as we know it — and the system prevalent in the Pergamene, Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms.[2] Whatever its origin, it was well adapted to grain-producing Sicily.

[1] (*a*) Non-tribute paying communities; 1st class, *Foederati;* 2nd class, *Liberae et immunes.* (*b*) Tithe or rent-paying communities: 3rd class, *Ager publicus;* 4th class, *Decumanae.*

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 8.

Because of the striking similarity between certain details of the Sicilian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid systems, it is not unnatural to conclude that the Sicilian system was derived from or strongly influenced by those of the East. Differences must also be noted. In Egypt the lists of cultivators were drawn up by the scribes of the districts, royal officials, who also appointed reliable persons as custodians of the crops. These acted under oath. The cultivators of the soil could not touch their own produce except for the fodder of animals used in agriculture, and this by permission of the village scribe. The grain and rents in kind had to be delivered to the storehouse. A grain accountant kept track, on uniform records, of individual holders. He was checked by an *antigrapheus,* an independent official. The grain was paid at the rate of so many *artabae* (36 quarts) to the *arura* (5-8 of an acre), not in proportion to the crop actually produced. The grain was con-

According to the custom, the number of the inhabitants and the area of cultivated land of each state must be given annually to the praetor by the chief magistrates of each state. On the basis of this census the tax list was drawn up, and then the farming-out of the taxes was put up for sale at a definite time each year in Sicily. The tax farmers might be any persons who could give sufficient security, and the list included both Romans (largely wealthy equites) and Sicilians. Groups and corporations of publicani also put up bids for the collection; and it was not uncommon for the states themselves to buy up the collection of their own taxes, which was naturally to their interest. The taxes were paid in kind, and certain cities were specified as centers into which the grain must be brought by the cultivators. The cultivators naturally desired a city to be chosen as convenient to their respective holdings as possible. A vote was taken for the selection of such cities, though special persuasion of the praetor often had more influence than the vote. If the city were at a great distance, so that transportation was costly or very inconvenient, it was possible to give money instead of grain.[3] This led to grave abuses,

sidered not as a tax but as a rent, since all the land was theoretically owned by the Ptolemy.

In the Seleucid empire, the φόρος was a tribute, not a rent. The cities were of three grades according as they paid the *ekphorion*, or the *syntaxis*, or were exempt (the distinction between the φόρος and σύνταξις was unknown). The φόρος was generally a tenth. The cities made out the lists of the cultivators and were directly responsible as communities for the collection of the tax, thus holding a more prominent place in the system than in Sicily, where they made out the lists, but were not responsible for the collection unless they received the contract by bidding. For a more detailed account of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid systems, vide Rostowzew, Studien zur Geschichte des Romischen Kolonates.

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 6, 15.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 7.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, B, 81-83.

since it inflicted a heavier burden of grain payment on other cities, and frequently resulted in bribery and corruption.[1]

Since, according to Cicero, "neither in the grain fields, nor on the threshing floors, nor in the barns, nor while removing his grain privily, nor while carrying it away openly" could the cultivator deprive the collector of a single particle without the severest punishment, provision must have been made for guarding the crop. It was also necessary that examination of the grain supply should be possible at any time. This led to much unpleasantness and inconvenience for the individual cultivators. Disagreements were sometimes obviated by an agreement in which the cultivator bought off the claim of a collector with a certain quantity of grain. If this failed, recourse was had to a court of *recuperatores,* established by the praetor.[2] The *recuperatores* were generally chosen from the Roman tradespeople, since they had the interests both of the island and of the sovereign people at heart,[3] but it was possible for the praetor to appoint as *recuperator* any one whom he

[1] Greenidge, Roman Public Life, 320, states that "it was inevitable that the Roman lawyer should associate this payment of tithes with the *vectigal* paid by occupants of *ager publicus,* and should evolve a theory that land in the provinces was not owned but merely possessed by the owners." Cf. Gaius, Institutes, II, 7 — *in eo* (*provinciali*) *solo dominium populi Romani et vel Caesaris, nos autem possessionem tantum vel usufructum habere videmur.* This tendency led to the view that the provinces were *quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani.* (Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 7.) Cicero, in these orations, speaks of the Sicilians as allies, however, a designation which contains no idea of Roman ownership of the soil. Those spoken of as *socii* must have owned their soil, but that proves nothing as to the districts that paid land taxes.

Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 1.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 28.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 28; 54, 137.

saw fit, and Cicero records that Verres never chose one from the proper body of tradespeople, but always from his own retinue.[1] This court gave the appearance of justice, but no appeal was allowed to the Roman people, and the processes were often far from equitable. Under Verres, the collector seized the property of the cultivator which was in dispute, and the cultivator had to regain it at court,[2] if at all, a very difficult matter before a court made up from the praetor's own followers.

Besides the tenths which were given as tribute there were second tenths which it was the duty of the praetor to purchase. These second tenths were equal to the first, and were paid for at a price fixed by law and somewhat below the market rate. The praetor received a sum of money with which to buy the tenths, but again the transaction might be attended by great unfairness.[3] Only the fourth class of cities (*civitates decumanae*) were subject to the second tenths, but, if additional grain were needed, the praetor was empowered to levy it from all states, paying the producer slightly more for it than for the second tenths.[4]

In addition to the above named sources of income there were taxes on flocks, in which Sicily was scarcely less rich than in grain; and port taxes, of which we know little, except that an export tax of 5 per cent. was charged at all ports, even in the *civitates foederatae* and the *civitates li-*

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 11.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 11.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 70; II, 3, 16. The state gave to the governor a note on the publicani who were to liquidate thus a part of the debt they owed to the treasury. It was this money, amounting to nine million sesterces, which Verres received to buy grain, that he lent to the publicani at 24 per cent. Therefore Velleius, one of the *magistri* of the companies (vide infra, p. 80), demanded that, if Verres did not give the money to the people, he should give it back to the company. Cf. Deloume, Manieurs d'Argent, 361.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 70.

berae et immunes,[1] though in these latter the cities could supervise their own collections.

The highest official of the province was the praetor. He had the imperium, just as had the consul at Rome, but was unchecked by a colleague or by veto of a tribune of the plebs, so that his power was the greater. He had command of the troops, with the power to fix the contingent furnished by each people; in him were vested also the administration of justice, and general supervision of the finances of the province, although this supervision lay chiefly in the hands of the quaestors.[2] On all these powers there was really no check except the slight possibility of impeachment at the end of the praetor's term of office, and the moral obligation that, as representative of the sovereignty of the Roman people, he should keep himself free from corruption. As a guarantee of this he was forbidden to be a partner in any corporation for the collection of taxes.[3] He might buy a slave only to fill the place of one that had died. He received no salary, but was not in need of funds, since the province had to furnish him a house in whatever city he wished to stay, grain for himself and for his retinue, and full accommodation while travelling.[4] The expenses allowed for administration were lavish, and few governors returned the surplus.[5]

Besides the praetor, two quaestors were sent annually to Sicily. Since no other province had more than one quaestor, the practice of sending two to Sicily is of interest. Mommsen attributes it to the early division of the island between the Carthaginians and Syracuse.[6] The first quaes-

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 71-75.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 20.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 56-57.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 11.
[5] Cicero, Ad Atticum, VII, 1, 16.
[6] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 535.

tor in Sicily had his seat at Lilybaeum in 241, as a quaestor of the fleet. He became a quaestor of the province at the coming of the first praetor in 227. When Syracuse fell, in 212, the praetor took his place there and was naturally accompanied by a quaestor. But Lilybaeum was such an important stronghold in the western part of the island that a quaestor continued there also, as a representative of the authority of Rome.[1] He bought grain for Rome and protected the temple on Mt. Eryx.[2] Each quaestor had supervision over the expenditures in the province; but this control was limited by the praetor, who might even dismiss the quaestor before his term expired,[3] or might, on the other hand, give him such additional functions, judicial, military, or administrative, as he saw fit. When a praetor departed, the quaestors acted as his deputies until his successor arrived.[4]

In the retinue of the praetor there were also minor officials, *legati* and *comites*. The former were nominated by the Senate and approved by the praetor; they acted as deputies to the praetor, and might be dismissed by him at any time. Ordinarily their duties were chiefly judicial, but the praetor could give them only civil jurisdiction. Power over life and death the praetor could not delegate to another. The *comites* were young men of noble rank who accompanied the praetor and were detailed usually to minor administrative work,[5] in which they learned their first lessons in political life. They were also called the *cohors praetoria*, a term which indicates the military character of the

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 134.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 22.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 58.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 4.

[5] Among the *comites* were always some *jurisprudentes* who exercised an important influence upon the development and interpretation of the provincial edict.

praetorship. A full quota of lictors — six for a propraetor — heralds, interpreters, and servants, both freedmen and slaves were also regularly in attendance on the praetor.[1]

According to the Rupilian law, passed in 131 B. C., the administration of justice was prescribed in an equitable manner. If a native Sicilian had a dispute with a fellow-citizen, the case was to be decided in the city to which both belonged, according to the laws there existing.[2] If a Sicilian had a dispute with a Sicilian of a different city, the praetor was to assign judges of the dispute. If a citizen made a claim on a community, or a community on a citizen, the Senate of a third city (left from three chosen by the praetor after each of the parties had rejected one) decided the case. If a Roman citizen made a claim on a Sicilian a Sicilian judge was appointed, and vice versa.[3] In other words the principle followed was that a neutral judge should be found, if possible, and that the defendant should be given every chance of a fair trial.

Criminal justice was dispensed by the praetor, who was armed with absolute power in this respect. He heard the evidence and the defense, and he took as counsellors either such Roman citizens as might be available, or, if he chose, citizens of the place. His integrity was open to suspicion when, as in the case of Verres, his only counsellors were members of his suite, yet even Verres hesitated to conduct a case alone.[4] The process to be followed by the praetor in civil or criminal cases was published by him, in the form of an edict, at his first coming to the province. Generally he adopted the edict of his predecessor in toto or with such

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 10; II, 2, 13 and 27.

[2] This could be true only in the cities which remained nominally independent. Where a *civitas* perished, its *jus civile* perished also. Disputes were then settled by rules established in the edict of the praetor.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 131.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 9.

slight modifications as experience dictated.[1] The cases reserved by this decree for the jurisdiction of the praetor or his subordinates were heard in the course of an annual circuit which the praetor (or his representatives) made through the province for this purpose. Court was held in the four or five chief cities of the island,[2] Syracuse, Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, Panormus, and perhaps Tyndaris, and in these places the contesting parties assembled. From the decision of *judices* or *recuperatores* there was no appeal.[3]

The simple organization of Roman rule and its administration as thus described would have been altogether inadequate were it not for the fact that the Romans were content to continue as far as possible the existing local organizations and laws. Most changes in these local organizations and laws were brought about at the request of the inhabitants. For example, in the consulship of Lucius Licinius Crassus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola (95 B. C.), the citizens of Halaesa requested laws from the Roman Senate, and Gaius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, was appointed to the task of preparing such laws.[4] Scipio gave laws to Agrigentum, and Publius Rupilius to Heraclea.[5] These laws, mentioned by Cicero in the orations against Verres, show that in many respects the local organization

[1] Cicero, Ad Atticum, V, 21, 11. The regulations of the *lex provinciae* were generally copied into the edict. Aquileius arranged that no slave in Sicily should carry weapons, and this was copied into all successive edicts. Cf. Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 3.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 11.

[3] During the Republic, the general maladministration of a praetor might be punished by appeal to the Senate at Rome. An example of such an appeal is found in the prosecution of Verres. This is not, however, an example of appeal from a decision rendered by a praetor in the province.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 49. These laws were public, concerning election to the Senate.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 50. Rupilius had led colonists to that city.

of the Sicilian cities was like that of Greece. The government was invested in a Senate and general assembly. Of these two institutions, the Senate, as the body initiating most legislation, was the more influential.[1]

Of the composition of the Sicilian political bodies we know little. Claudius Pulcher, taking as his counsellors the Marcelli, ordained that no one under thirty years of age or engaged in a trade, or possessed of less than a certain amount of property should be eligible to the Senate in Halaesa. In Agrigentum, on account of the two-fold division of the city between the old inhabitants and the new settlers, who had been brought from other towns by Titus Manlius, Scipio made the further regulation that there should not be more Senators of the latter class than of the former.[2] Ordinarily the office of Senator was probably held for life, since mention is made only of elections, by co-optation,[3] to fill the place of deceased Senators.[4] The number usually comprising a Senate is unknown. Cicero states that not less than thirty were present at a meeting in Centuripa.[5] This number is small, however; the usual number more probably approximated one hundred. In discussion the eldest was given precedence, but if, in a dangerous situation, no one wished to be the first speaker, the order was settled by lot.[6]

The second factor in legislation was the assembly of the people, meeting in some cases under the presidency of the delegation from a tribe (φυλή, corresponding to the Athenian *prytanis*). At Agrigentum the year was divided into periods of two months, and, since there were three *phylae*,

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 6, 67.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 50.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 50.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 79.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 67.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 64.

each presided in turn twice in the year over a two-monthly period.[1] The three *phylae* appear also at Syracuse in Cicero's description of the election of the Amphipolus of Zeus; at this election the lot was drawn from among the three tribes.[2] In other cities the president of the assembly is called the *proagorus*,[3] and in still others the *praeditus*.[4] Such officers, where they existed, were generally considered the highest in the state, and in grave diplomatic matters they acted in conjunction with a small commission from the Senate.[5] In still other cities the highest positions were held by priestly functionaries. Thus the Hierothytes were supreme at Agrigentum,[6] the Hieropolus in Gela and Cephaloedium, while at Syracuse the Amphipolus of Zeus, mentioned above, held the Eponymy. Praetors,[7] quaestors, and aediles [8] also appear as local city officials elected annually. The censorship, which was held in highest repute because of the great power which the censor possessed in determining the value of each man's estate for the annual tax, was filled by election every five years.[9] Besides all these there must have been not a few minor officials to supervise the collection of revenues and taxes paid in kind, gymnasiarchs and palaestrites for the supervision of public gymnasia and fora, lesser priests, and all the many supernumeraries of official life in any state, however small.[10]

[1] Holm, III, 90. See also Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 52, for the regulation of the calendar at Cephaloedium.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 51. Cf. custom of Agrigentum, I. G. I. 952.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 23; I. G. I. 952.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 39.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 67; II, 3, 28.

[6] I. G. I. 952.

[7] Livy XXIV, 22, 30.

[8] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 67; II, 4, 43.

[9] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 53.

[10] I. G. I. 952.

CHAPTER III

Sicily under the Republic

I. From the Fall of Syracuse to the Praetorship of Verres, 212-73 B. C.

Although Syracuse fell into the hands of the Romans in 212, Marcellus did not return to Rome until 211 to celebrate his triumph, and, as has been shown, it was left for M. Valerius Laevinus in 210 and 209 to reduce Agrigentum and restore peace to the island. Fortunately Laevinus was sufficiently farsighted to perceive that, unless the island were restored to a fair degree of prosperity as well as peace, it would be of little value as a tithe-paying province. In 209, therefore, he rode through the country to urge that the grain land be taken up again. This action was followed by Rome in 208 with the proclamation at the Olympic games that Rome desired all who had fled to Greece during the past wars to return, and promised that all they had had would be given back to them.

By 205 Sicily came again to take a not unimportant part in the struggle which was still going on between Rome and Carthage. In that year Publius Cornelius Scipio, having been named consul, sought to carry out a previously conceived plan of attacking Carthage on her own soil in order to draw Hannibal from Italy. The Senate was willing that an attempt should be made, but partly, perhaps, on account of the jealousy of his fellow-citizens,[1] and more

[1] Dio Cassius, Zonaras, IX, 11.

because it was unsafe to remove any of Rome's depleted forces while the enemy was so near,[1] no adequate equipment was furnished for such an expedition. Collecting therefore as many volunteers as he could — about 7,000 men, cavalry and infantry — and a body of 300 picked troops who accompanied him without arms, he sailed for Sicily.[2] In Sicily he remained for the winter, billeting his army on the cities in order to save the grain with which he had started, and enlisting new soldiers. Sicilian support was the more readily given because of Scipio's justice in returning to the Syracusans the property which Italians had unlawfully retained in their city.[3] The unarmed men were provided for by the clever scheme of drafting 300 of the wealthiest Sicilians for the war. When they desired substitutes, Scipio put in their places the members of the Italian body guard, whom the Sicilians gladly armed with their richest trappings in order to escape the war themselves. Finally everything was ready and Scipio held a grand review of all his forces before he set sail for Africa.[4]

Although the success of Scipio's African expedition does not belong to the history of Sicily, an incident at its close served to endear the victorious general to the Sicilians; he sent word to Sicily after the capture of Carthage that, whatever they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars, would be restored to them.[5] In this way some of the greatest of the Sicilian treasures were returned to the cities and became again the center of their life and worship.[6]

[1] Appian, B. C. VIII, 2, 7.

[2] Appian, B. C. VIII, 11, 8.

[3] Livy XXIX, 1.

[4] Livy XXIX, 22.

[5] Appian, B. C. VIII, 20, 133.

[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 2.

Very little is heard of Sicily during the period between the Second and the Third Punic War. We know that in 199 the praetor urbanus of the previous year was ordered to take care that the soldiers who had supported Rome in Spain, Sicily and Sardinia should receive land.[1] In 192 King Antiochus of Syria sent twenty ships to seize the island. On this occasion the praetor had to collect twelve thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen for the defense of the east coast.[2] To cover the expense of the expedition two tenths were collected,[3] but the Syrian fleet, perhaps on account of the vigorous preparation for defense, did not undertake the conquest at all. In 169, in the Macedonian War, the Sicilians contributed 1,500 marines for the fleet.[4]

The fall of Carthage threw upon the market a great host of slaves, many of whom were bought up and taken to Sicily to till the soil and tend the flocks. It was this greatly enlarged class of field and house slaves that about the year 139 rose against their masters and brought on the First Slave War. Led by Eunus, a Syrian from Apamea and the slave of Antigones of Henna, the slaves of oppressive masters in the vicinity rose in great numbers, and seized Henna with little or no difficulty. A general slaughter of the slave owners ensued and a petty kingdom was set up by the slaves within the city.

The island of Sicily had so long been free from disturbance that no efficient Roman force existed there to quell the rebellion. It was hoped by the Romans that Cleo, a Cilician who led an uprising of 5,000 men in the West, would come to blows with Eunus, but the hope was not realized. Cleo

[1] Livy XXXII, 1, 3.
[2] Livy XXXV, 23.
[3] Livy XXXVII, 2.
[4] Livy XLIII, 14; XLIV, 20.

agreed to act under Eunus as his commander-in-chief; the union of the two armies took place within thirty days after the beginning of the uprising.[1] The Roman praetor, L. Hypsaeus, led 8,000 men against them only to meet a decisive defeat, which greatly increased the prestige of the rebels and brought the numbers of those in revolt up to 200,000.[2] As the war against the great slave-holding proprietors was a distinct advantage to the smaller land holders, it is not to be doubted that they lent to it moral if not material support.[3]

The failure of the praetor led Rome to adopt more vigorous measures. In 134 the consul C. Fulvius Flaccus was sent to Sicily, but proved no more successful than his predecessors. After an eruption of Mt. Aetna the Sibylline books were consulted for a means to propitiate the angry gods.[4] When the books revealed that Aetnean Zeus and Demeter must be appeased, an expedition was sent to Sicily which made offerings to Aetnean Zeus and then walled up his altar that no rebellious slave might gain the favor of the god. Cicero[5] says that a priestly band went to Henna to offer gifts to Demeter in the consulship of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, i. e. 133 B. C., but since Henna was in the possession of the slaves in that year, the expedition must have been made in 132. This L. Calpurnius was the successor of C. Fulvius Flaccus in Sicily and proved himself a stronger leader, but failed to take Henna.

In 132 B. C., L. Calpurnius was succeeded by Publius Rupilius, whose experience as a *publicanus* in Sicily and consequent knowledge of the country eminently fitted him

[1] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 17.

[2] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 18.

[3] Vide infra, p. 75.

[4] Diodorus XXXIV, 10; Orosius V, 10.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 79.

for the place. He besieged Tauromenium and reduced it. The slaves still held the stronghold of Henna, but were brought to hunger here by a close siege. Cleo's attempts to lead forth a force and break the siege were without avail. Then Eunus with a thousand chosen troops took the field, only to meet overwhelming disaster. Eunus survived the battle only a short time, and the island was soon pacified. The ordering of the island was entrusted to the proconsul P. Rupilius and a commission of ten senators.[1]

To the year 104 B. C. can be traced the cause of the Second Slave War.[2] In that year Marius was elected consul and was empowered by the Senate to seek aid from the allies against the Cimbri and the Teutones. He asked aid from the king of Bithynia and received the answer that all his young men suitable for war had been carried off by the *publicani*. The Senate therefore decreed that no free subject of a state allied to Rome should be made a slave and brought to serve in a Roman province, and that, if one were to be brought to serve in that way, the ruler of the province should take care to free him.[3]

P. Licinius Nerva, at this time praetor of Sicily, received the command of the Senate. He set about at once to free great numbers, sometimes as many as 800 in a day. Of these some had been themselves brought from allied states, while others owed their slavery to the seizure of their fathers. All, of course, desired freedom. The wholesale freeing of slaves, however, caused the rich to fear that

[1] The lex Rupilia was probably a *lex data*, i. e. the details were not brought before the assembly, but the law operated by authority which the assembly conferred on the administrator. This was the first of the great administrative regulations which affected whole provinces. See Reid, Municipalities, 326. Arnold, Roman Provincial Administration, 26-27, dates the lex Rupilia immediately after the Roman conquest of the country.

[2] Diodorus XXXVI, 2, et seq.

[3] Diodorus XXXVI, Fragmenta.

there would be none left, and they brought pressure to bear on the praetor, who forthwith stopped. By this time large numbers of slaves had left their estates to go to the praetor and seek freedom, and dared not return. They sought the shrine of Palici for safety, forming a dangerous body ready for any chance of rebellion.

A shortlived uprising started first in Halicyae, where the slaves of two rich brothers fell on them and slew them by night. The sedition spread so that by morning 120 had joined. When they had reached 200 in number they seized a mountain near by,[1] but were soon overpowered by the ingenuity of the praetor, who employed the services of an outlaw, C. Titinius Gaddaeus.

Some time after this uprising was quelled, a more serious one broke out. Eighty slaves of P. Classius, a Roman knight, fell on him and murdered him and others. Unfortunately the praetor did not at once oppose the rebellious slaves. The delay added to their hopes and numbers, and both were increased still more by the defeat of the troops sent against them by M. Titinius. Just as in the first war the rebellious slaves had organized under Eunus, now again slaves placed themselves under a soothsayer, Salvius. He grouped them in bands to scour the country and enlist new troops, until they were 20,000 in number and, outside Morgantia, had inflicted a second defeat on the Romans.

Meanwhile another rising had taken place in the West, under the Cilician Athenio. He, too, took the title of king, and claimed to have read in the stars that he was to be ruler of all Sicily. Salvius took the name of Trypho, which had been held by a Syrian pretender years before. Again history repeated itself, in that Athenio submitted to Salvius and disappointed those who hoped for conflict between them. In accordance with his leader's wishes, Athenio

[1] Diodorus XXXVI, 2.

besieged and took Triacola,[1] a place suited by its fertility, good water, and defensibility for a stronghold. Here Trypho set up his kingly court and a senate was organized of the chief citizens.

So great dimensions had the uprising taken on in the year 104 that in 103 L. Licinius Lucullus was sent with a great force of 14,000 Romans, Italians and allies.[2] Against this force Athenio took the field with a slave band of 40,000 men. In the battle which ensued at Scrithaea many slaves were killed and the rest fled to Triacola in such despair that they would have yielded if Lucullus had followed up the battle directly. By the time he did appear outside Triacola, nine days later, they had been encouraged by Athenio to make a stubborn resistance. Lucullus was charged with complicity in their revived efforts and was banished after his return to Rome. The praetor of the next year accomplished nothing more. Trypho had died in the meantime and Athenio succeeded him without detriment to the management of affairs. By 101 it seemed best to send the consul M. Aquillius to Sicily. He brought the war to an end in 99, defeating and killing Athenio in open battle.[3] About 10,000 slaves survived the battle, but were besieged in Triacola until starvation forced them to surrender. They received the boon of their lives but were sentenced to the arenas of Rome. To prevent a repetition of the horrors of such a war M. Aquillius passed a law that no slave should bear arms on penalty of extreme punishment. Such was the law in force at a later date, in the praetorship of Verres.[4]

Before the praetorship of Verres, which forms the next

[1] Diodorus XXXVI, 7.

[2] Diodorus XXXVI, 8.

[3] Diodorus XXXVI, 10; Cicero, De Orationibus, II, 47.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 3.

well known chapter in Sicilian history, the island was destined to take a small part in the political struggles of Rome which marked the decline of the Republic. Saturninus had planned to found colonies in Sicily as well as in Achaia and Macedonia.[1] Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the people in 91 B. C. and a member of the aristocratic party, cherished as a part of his program for destroying the power of the equites the setting aside of the best part of the arable land of Sicily for the settlement of burgess colonists. The plan, which was only the smallest part of a program calling for radical changes in the courts and the granting of the franchise to the Italian allies, met with violent opposition from both equites and Senators; hence, although it was forced through by a vote of the people, it was immediately afterward declared invalid by the consul Philippus.[2] The murder of Drusus at this critical moment removed all possibility of the enforcement of the law and brought upon Rome new troubles in the form of war with the disappointed Italian allies.

Sicily took no part in these struggles except in furnishing to the Romans supplies of grain, cloth, and leather with which to carry on the war.[3] From the struggles of the democratic and aristocratic factions in the time of Marius and Sulla the island was not quite so aloof, although no important phase of the struggle took place on the island. In the year 88, when the appointment of Sulla to the command of the forces against Mithridates forced Marius to flee, the latter made his escape from Minturnae and sailed for Africa. Needing water, he landed near Eryx in Sicily,

[1] Aurelius Victor, De Viris Illustribus LXXIII, 5.

[2] Velleius Paterculus II, 13 f. Smith's Classical Dict., Drusus. It was declared invalid as passed against the auspices.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 4. Babelon 2, 58 describes a coin of Norbanus which shows his zeal in keeping the Italians from Sicily.

but was forcibly expelled by the quaestor.[1] The absence of Sulla in the East, however, weakened his power in the West and upon his return he found it necessary to despatch his lieutenant, Cn. Pompeius, to retrieve Sicily and Africa from the Marian party. The opposition in Sicily was of brief duration. When Pompeius approached with his hundred and twenty ships and six legions, the praetor, M. Perperna, fled. Pompeius treated the Sicilian communities with great leniency.[2] Only to the leaders of the Marian party he showed no mercy. One of Sulla's measures which very directly influenced Sicily was the giving back of jurisdiction to the Senate in 81 B. C. Since the time of C. Gracchus the equites had held the jurisdiction in Sicily and it had been hoped that the equestrian courts would prove a counterbalance to the senatorial governors. They had proved to be of no great value as a check; sometimes in fact the wealth of the equites was an added source of corruption.

2. THE PRAETORSHIP OF VERRES, 73-70 B. C.

Among the young opponents of the power of Sulla was one who was to make famous one chapter of the history of Sicily and give to future generations a better picture of the whole life of the province than any other writer. Marcus Tullius Cicero assumed in 76 under the praetor Sex. Peducaeus his first public office, the quaestorship in Western Sicily, which according to his own accounts he administered with the happiest results for the province. With youthful pride he thought at the time that his quaestorship was of universally recognized importance.[3] Its real significance, however, was to appear later when the respect which he had

[1] Plutarch, Marius, 40.

[2] Cicero, De Imperio Cn. Pompeii, 30; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 16.

[3] Cicero, Pro Plancio, 64, 65.

inspired in the Sicilians led to their choice of him as their defender in the troubles which so soon followed his quaestorship.

The governorship of Cn. Licinius Sacerdos, who succeeded Sex. Peducaeus in 74,[1] was unmarked by oppression except that which arose from the attempts of Antony, father of the triumvir, against the pirates.[2] Antony was appointed against the pirates, but was not provided with sufficient power and funds, so that each infested country had to supply forces for its own relief. This demand for forces fell heavily on Sicily as on other provinces.[3]

The memory of this burden, however, soon faded before the greater oppression of the rule of the next praetor, C. Verres. One of the greatest evils of Roman official life is here displayed both in the fact that a man whose early military and political life had been characterized by nothing if not by venality and viciousness and corruption [4] could become supreme magistrate of a valuable province, and that, once in power, he should be unrestrained by any civil check while he worked his will upon a long-suffering and helpless people. Gaius Verres, after embezzling the public money as quaestor to C. Carbo in Gaul,[5] and filching statues, and harassing friends and allies when lieutenant in Asia,[6] and finally in the very city of Rome as praetor robbing heirs of their inheritances,[7] was made propraetor of the province of Sicily in 73 B. C. Here for three years he pursued his nefarious work with freer hand than ever before, and the

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 55.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 2.

[3] Plutarch, Antony, 1; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 92, 93.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, I, 5; II, 1, 13 et seq.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 13.

[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 18-24.

[7] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 40 ff.

result of that freedom we find reflected in the indictment of Cicero.

As has already been shown,[1] it was the duty of the praetor of the province of Sicily to collect a tax of one tenth of the grain, to be sent to Rome, and to buy an additional tenth at a price fixed by law, somewhat below the market price. This arrangement, due to the Lex Hieronica, had been considered a sufficient safeguard for the protection of both rulers and people; but it had proved, under the praetorship of Verres, a very abundant source of extortion. Many were the devices used in these extortions. In the first place, Verres himself became a partner with the collectors in the transactions, a proceeding quite contrary to law, but one which gave a feeling of security to the *publicani* in anything that they might do. With this to support them the tax-farmers travelled in royal style from state to state, summoned the magistrates before them as slaves before masters, feasted openly at public expense, and, when insolence was fed with much wine, demanded from the cultivators whatever they desired in the way of tax.[2] Districts might be so drained by this first tax that they were forced to buy wheat for their second tenths because they had none left of their own.[3] Money was collected for the testing of grain, which was entirely unnecessary, for the quality of the grain was all high, and, even had the testing been desirable, it might have been accomplished at little or no expense while the grain was on the threshing floor.

Another means of extracting money was found in demanding "gifts,"[4] payments in produce or cash in addition to the tenth, which are recorded as amounting in some cases

[1] Vida supra, p. 44.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 45.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 43.

[4] The word is *lucrum*.

to more than the value of the tenth itself. Thus in Lipara, a barren, poorly-paying district, the tenths were sold for 600 medimni, while an additional "gift" of 30,000 sesterces or 6,000 medimni was extorted.[1] Similar cases are found in Tissa and Amistratus.[2] The gifts were paid to the collectors, who were mere tools of Verres, so that the money was really procured for Verres.

The buying of the second tenth provided Verres with an even more fertile field for plunder. During the three years of his praetorship nearly 36,600,000 sesterces were paid to him by the Roman people for the purchase of grain. This he appropriated himself, putting it out at 24 per cent. interest. He paid nothing at all for the grain from some cities,[3] and made liberal deductions from the price due the rest, on the pretext of difference in exchange, although there was none,[4] or deductions made in name of the clerk. Another very efficient method was to reject the grain of some cities as inferior and demand money instead. Verres would send to Rome some of the surplus which he had extorted in the levy of the first tenths, and keep for himself the money substitute.[5] On such occasions he made sure to value the grain which was worth two or three sesterces a modius at some three denarii a modius.[6]

Against all these abuses the cultivators had no real defense. For, by the praetor's decree, issued upon his assumption of office, "Whatever amount of tithe the collector declared that the cultivator ought to pay, that amount the cultivator should be compelled to pay to the collec-

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 37.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 39.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 73.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 78.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 74.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 82-83.

tor." [1] It is true that there were provisions that, if more than a just amount were collected, the cultivator should be paid eightfold damages, but these were to be collected at court,[2] and no one could remove grain from his threshing floor till the demands of the collector were settled. Few there would be who would not prefer to yield an unfairly large share of their crops rather than to let the whole rot on the threshing floor and face starvation for their families and themselves during the coming winter.[3] Only the foolhardy would venture to regain property before such a court as Verres', especially since the cultivator was compelled to appear in any court which the collector might choose.[4]

Not only in the trying of cases against agriculturists were the courts of Verres infamous for their corruption. If any citizen had a dispute with another, Verres assigned a judge satisfactory to himself. If a tribunal had already been established and a fellow citizen appointed as judge, even such a one was brought under the control of the propraetor by the edict that, "If any one had judged wrongly, he would reconsider the case, and when he had examined he would mete out punishment." [5] The judges, therefore, for their own safety, asked his opinion concerning the decision before announcing it. The judge who dared to disregard the decree, he punished severely; his decision was declared false; he was forbidden to appear in the Senate, and was deprived by an interdict of all privileges of citizens, including access to all public places; no cognizance was taken of any injuries he might suffer, and, if any claim appeared against him, Verres appointed judges from his own retinue.[6]

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 10.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 11.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 14.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, I, 5.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 13.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 27.

Inheritances were a favorite object of the machinations of Verres. False informants were persuaded to make claims on the estates inherited by the wealthy and the true heirs were forced to pay huge sums in order to keep their property.[1] At other times it was claimed that the conditions of the will were not carried out in the matter of erecting statues, dedicating shrines or perpetuating sacrifices for the dead, and the estates were declared forfeited.[2] Even property which had passed safely to the heirs before the advent of Verres was not free from his attack. Cicero tells us of a man of Halaesa, Dio by name, who had fallen heir to a large estate without rival claim before the arrival of Verres. The latter, however, procured counterclaimants supported by false witnesses and was unwilling to let the just cause prevail until he had received a bribe of a million sesterces.[3] All such cases were undertaken with a mere sham of legality, sometimes in the absence of the defendant, with unconcealed bribery,[4] or with the deliberate assignment of prejudiced advocates to the accused.[5]

Many other devices Verres ingeniously invented for the accumulation of wealth. He exported large quantities of native products without paying the 5 per cent. tax due on exports. It was computed that collectors of the export tax at Syracuse alone lost 60,000 sesterces through this practice.[6] Again, those who upheld the dignity of the senatorial rank were embittered by his willful appointment to that order of anyone, however young or unworthy, who paid a sufficiently large bribe.[7] From those upon whom

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 10.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 14; II, 22, 25.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 10.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 48.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 43-44.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 74, 75.
[7] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 49.

he had already inflicted an unduly large tax of grain he demanded additional money for statues complimentary to himself to be erected both in Sicily and Rome. These he never intended to erect, but they proved such a constant excuse for the extraction of money that the people begged that it be made illegal for them to promise a statue.[1]

Although the Sicilians chafed under all the abuses of Verres, perhaps none was more bitter to this cultured and beauty-loving people than the wholesale seizure of their art treasures. Using as his tools two renegade Greek painters, Tlepolemus and Hiero, who had fled from their homes in Cibyra on the accusation of temple plundering, Verres set out to bring into his own possession all the works of art, both public and private, that the island afforded.[2] From the silver dishes of the less wealthy he had the beautifully chased ornaments removed, and modelled by silversmiths in his palace into goblets and cups to adorn his tables.[3] From those who had fallen heir to articles of greater worth, — gold and jewelled rings,[4] silver plate,[5] beautiful tables of citrus wood,[6] or exquisitely wrought harnesses,[7] — these nobler works were stolen. Still greater grief and wrath he stirred up in every town in Sicily by his desecration of shrines and temples and his seizure of public statues of gods and heroes vitally connected with the religion and worship.[8]

The richest and most highly adorned city of the island, Syracuse, naturally suffered severely from these depredations; Cicero would have it believed that the plunder

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 58-60.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 1.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 22-24.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 26.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 16-17.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 17.
[7] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 22.
[8] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 3; II, 2, 21.

taken by the soldiers of Marcellus was insignificant beside the wholesale robbery of Verres [1]— a robbery made harder to bear because it had no excuse in conquest and was frequently covered with the pretense of purchase, so that the afflicted people suffered the added indignity of having it entered on their records that they were induced by a price, and a miserably small one, to part with the treasures inherited from their ancestors.[2]

No wise or beneficial measures counteracted the baneful influence of the governor's rapacity. Neither Verres' attitude toward the slaves nor his dealings with the pirates redounded to his credit. In boasting that he had checked the spread of the slave war in Southern Italy, Verres stole the glory from Marcus Crassus, who kept the slaves from building boats.[3] In the management of naval affairs and in the treatment of pirates, his conduct was infamous. Considering the navy a fruitful source of gain, he added to his private revenue, but despoiled the fleet, by accepting bribes to excuse cities from furnishing sailors, and by taking bribes which the sailors themselves offered to secure their release.[4] In spite of the inefficiency induced by such a system the fleet managed on one occasion to capture a richly laden pirate ship. Verres then appropriated the spoils and gave the best looking captives as slaves to his friends.[5] When the Syracusans demanded the execution of the full number of pirates, he substituted Roman citizens whom he had previously thrown into prison.[6] Later, the discharge of rowers proved more disastrous, for the fleet was burned

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 54.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 60.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 2.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 17, 24.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 25, 26.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 28.

by the pirates in the harbor of Elorum.[1] To placate the infuriated mob Verres had the captains executed in the sight of the people with all manner of torture, unless he had been well bribed to grant the mercy of a private execution.[2]

Not even the Roman citizens escaped the cruelty and avarice of the propraetor, but were beaten, scourged, thrown into prison or into the Syracusan stone quarries, and even crucified if they opposed his will.[3] By acting as his agents and concealing his spoil, the Mamertines alone secured the benefits of immunity from labor, military service, and the grain levy which the Terentian and Cassian laws directed them to furnish for purchase.[4]

When at the end of his term of office Verres had returned to Rome, and the harassed island sought redress from the Senate with Cicero as their prosecutor, only the Mamertines refrained from accusing the despoiler. Although the quaestors left in the province threatened all who made statement against Verres and detained by force the most damaging witnesses of his private transactions, Cicero was able in his fifty days journey through the island to amass such a mountain of unimpeachable evidence that the praetor dared not trust even to bribery, but saw the futility of defense and went into exile.

3. FROM THE PRAETORSHIP OF VERRES TO THE END OF THE REPUBLIC, 70-30 B. C.

During the last forty years of the Republic the island of Sicily initiated no action of note, but it was the scene of happenings of varying importance. In 64 B. C., a few

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 34-35.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 38 ff.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 1, 5; II, 3, 24-25; II, 4, 10; II, 5, 54-56, 62.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 21; II, 4, 77.

years after the condemnation of Verres, C. Servilius Rullus brought forward a bill for establishing colonies in Italy. The money for buying the land was to be obtained by selling the *ager publicus* or exacting higher rentals from it. For the carrying out of the law, a board of decemviri with sole jurisdiction and imperium were to be elected for five years, with two hundred knights to serve as underofficials. By bringing forward this bill the democratic party under the leadership of Julius Caesar calculated to secure a power in the West equal to Pompey's in the East. This was not agreeable to Pompey, and Cicero argued against its passage.[1] In January, 63, Rullus withdrew the bill and we hear no more of the project. If the bill had passed, Sicily would have come under the dominion of the decemviri and her public land would have been sold or the taxes raised, so that territory of the second class [2] would have been reduced or eliminated.[3] Such a sale of land might have increased the number of Roman citizens in the island, though at that time, as we know, they figured largely in its agriculture and trade.[4]

As has already been shown, in the praetorship of Verres the pirates were no insignificant menace to Sicilian waters. The fast extending rule of Rome had proved irksome to a large number of freedom-loving souls, who, in consequence, sought their masters' discomfiture and their own fortunes on the open sea. With their headquarters in the secluded bays of southern Asia Minor, they roved about the Mediterranean, despoiling any merchant vessels they happened upon. Servilius Isauricus and Antony had been despatched against them to no avail. When the pirates

[1] Cicero, De Lege Agraria.

[2] Vide supra, p. 39.

[3] Cicero, De Lege Agraria, I, 4.

[4] Cicero, Orationes in Verrem.

attempted to capture Sicily in 70 B. C. they were defeated by L. Metellus, the propraetor of that year.[1] Finally they grew so powerful that the shipments of grain from Sicily to Italy were almost entirely cut off.[2] In the year 67, therefore, the tribune A. Gabinius brought forward a bill which stipulated that a man be appointed for three years with unlimited power over the whole Mediterranean and the coasts for 400 stadia inland, with 200 ships and an unlimited number of troops to overcome the pirates. Gn. Pompey was appointed.[3] It was his plan to drive the pirates from the West to the East and to break their power in their home district. Of the twenty-four legati under his command, Terentius Varro and Plotius Varus were placed in charge of the Sicilian Sea. The whole campaign was finished in three months.

In the struggle between Caesar and the Senatorial party, Sicily was the scene of some of the minor incidents. When the Optimates fled from Rome at Caesar's approach to Italy, B. C. 49, M. Cato went to Sicily, which had fallen to him as a province, but Asinius Pollio, Caesar's lieutenant, quickly retook the island,[4] and it was used as a base for Caesar's military campaign against Africa in 47 B. C.[5] Caesar must also have shown an interest in the island as a favorable field for extending the citizenship, for Antony, on the strength of a bill (rogatio) supposed to have been found in the will of Caesar, was able to have passed in April, 44 B. C., the Lex Julia de Siculis, which gave Roman citizenship to the free inhabitants of Sicily.[6] How far the

[1] Orosius 6, 3.

[2] Cicero, De Lege Manilia, 55.

[3] Plutarch, Pompey.

[4] Appian, B. C. II, 6, 40.

[5] Caesar, B. C. I, 25.

[6] Diodorus XIII, 35; XVI, 70.

law was enforced we do not know, but we find at least one city enjoying the Roman citizenship after this date.[1]

The final episode of the island's history during the Republican regime was the war waged by Sextus Pompeius. Sextus, the younger son of Pompey the Great, having been removed from the office of admiral,[2] sought wealth and revenge in piracy. Many proscribed men who had served under his father and his brother joined him; ships were built and manned, and soon Sicily fell into his power.[3] Caesar sent Carinus against him, but nothing was accomplished. Then Asinius Pollio was sent, but was recalled at the assassination of Caesar. In Sicily, Sextus had meanwhile prevailed over the opposition of the praetor Bithynicus by promising him a division of power; the disadvantage of the concession was later overcome by the execution of Bithynicus on a charge of treachery.[4] Although attempts by Sextus against Italy were unsuccessful, Roman generals were equally unable to dislodge the pirate captain from the island. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, large forces joined Pompeius, making his power still more formidable to the triumvirs.[5] Famine fell upon Rome because of the failure of grain to reach Italy from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa and the East, until the people by their riots forced Antony and Octavian to negotiate for peace.[6]

[1] E. g. Segesta, according to C. I. L. X 2, p. 75.

[2] Dio Cassius XLVIII, 17.

[3] Strabo, III, 2, 2; Appian, B. C. IV, 11, 84.

[4] Dio Cassius XLVIII, 19.

[5] Dio Cassius XLVIII, 19: American Journal of Archaeology, 1895, 279. At Marsala (Lilybaeum), among the slabs of an ancient pavement, an inscription has been discovered recording the work of Sextus Pompeius and his legatus L. Plinius Rufus on the port and towers of Lilybaeum. The inscription reads: MAG POMPEIO MAG F. PIO IMP. AUGURE COS. DESIG PORTUM. ET TURRES L. PLINIUS, L F RUFUS. LEG. PRO. PR. PR. DES. F. C.

[6] Appian, B. C. V, 8, 67-69.

On an island off Puteoli the three leaders met and agreed that Pompeius should cease to afford a refuge to fugitive slaves and should no longer blockade the Italian coast, but should govern Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica as long as Antony and Octavian ruled the rest of the empire.[1] The peace secured by this treaty was not of long duration. Hostilities were soon renewed in which Octavian met with varying success, the deciding factor in the struggle often being Menodorus, a freedman of Pompeius whose numerous desertions from one side to the other carried a temporary success to whichever side he favored.[2] Finally, through the skill of Agrippa, Octavian's great lieutenant, Pompeius was defeated and was forced to flee from Sicily.[3]

Lepidus, who had been despoiled by Octavian and Antony of his former allotment as a triumvir, thought to secure Sicily by means of the twenty-two legions under his command.[4] But, failing to hold the loyalty of his soldiers, he soon found himself at Rome helpless and in disgrace.[5] Octavian then, by the appointment of a propraetor and the assignment of a division of his army to the island, ensured that Sicily should not again be controlled by ambitious enemies.[6]

With this incident the narrative of Sicily under the Roman Republic ends. Through most of the period thus far delineated the island is seen to have had little history of her own. Always she was drawn into quarrels which were not her own, always she suffered to enrich a people who were not her offspring. From the downfall of the kingdom

[1] Appian, B. C. V, 8, 72; Dio Cassius XLVIII, 36.

[2] Appian, B. C. V, 9, 81-90; V, 11, 106-115; Dio Cassius XLVIII, 45, 48-49; 49, 3-5.

[3] Appian, B. C. V, 11, 118-122 : Dio Cassius XLIX, 10, 17.

[4] Appian, B. C. V, 13, 123; Dio Cassius XLIX, 8, 11.

[5] Appian, B. C. V, 13, 126.

[6] Appian, B. C. V, 13, 129.

of Syracuse and the failure of the attempt at its resuscitation, Sicily exerted but small influence on the forces that shaped her political destiny. The Slave Wars, which were perhaps most truly events of her own production, were yet the struggles of alien peoples and involuntary inhabitants in her land. Still they point to the truth that it is in her economic and social life that she pursued most freely her own course, and there the history is most truly hers.

CHAPTER IV

Economic Conditions in Sicily under the Republic

Except for the chance statement of Cicero that the agriculture of Sicily suffered no permanent deterioration on account of the Punic Wars,[1] and the fact that Rome took active steps both in Sicily and abroad to encourage the return of cultivators who had fled during the wars, we have no definite picture of agriculture in Sicily from the time of Theocritus till that of the Slave Wars. We are therefore largely unprepared for the change that has taken place. It is true that there were slaves in the time of Theocritus, but of the miseries of slavery we have no evidence. Small land owners still sent their sons into the fields to tend the flocks, and shepherd and tiller of the soil might still enjoy the comforts of their homes and private life. Scarcely a hundred years later the whole aspect has greatly changed. For this change the Punic Wars, although they had perhaps done little to destroy the land or farming population, were largely responsible. The Second Punic War had spread throughout the West, and captives had been taken in Sicily, Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul and Spain. These prisoners were then slaves.[2] The destruction of Carthage must have thrown upon the market multitudes of persons, many already trained as house slaves or to field labor on large plantations. With the crushing of rival maritime nations by Rome, piracy and kidnapping went on unchecked and

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 54.

[2] In Epirus alone 150,000 prisoners had been sold. Livy XLV, 34.

numerous slaves were secured in this way.[1] The effect on the owners could not fail to be pernicious. A few slaves might be treated with a degree of humanity. Masses of human beings received scarcely the care or consideration of cattle. Roman plantation owners in Sicily, and there came to be many of them, accustomed to Cato's impersonal methods of using slaves, soon extended them to even greater inhumanity.[2] Diodorus gives a picture of this merciless machine in operation in Sicily, which may be filled in with details of the Roman treatment of slaves on Italian plantations in the same period. The slaves were branded with the stigma of their station upon their bodies, so that they could never hope to outlive the degradation of their estate.[3] Field slaves were often forced to work in chains which were so arranged as to impede their labor as little as possible while making escape out of the question.[4] They were greatly overworked by day and at night were crowded into filthy, airless *ergastula* or prisons, where neither law nor humanity intervened to lessen their suffering or depravity.[5]

House slaves were in a scarcely more enviable position. Though they may have been less overwhelmed with heavy work, they were subject to constant brutal treatment from their heartless masters and no more gentle mistresses,[6] and if on account of their unhappy lot their minds became deluded, they were exhibited in sport at feasts for the amusement of the guests. Perhaps the shepherds and goatherds

[1] Strabo, XIV, 32; Wallon, Histoire de l'Esclavage, II, p. 45.

[2] Cato, R. R. II, 7; Plutarch, Cato Major, XV, 3.

[3] Diodorus XXXIV, 2.

[4] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 27.

[5] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 35. Such treatment of slaves as Diodorus portrays could not have been universal, but there were doubtless numerous examples of inhuman treatment.

[6] Diodorus XXXIV, 2. Maltreatment of slaves might be a cause for degrading a citizen by the censor. According to Diodorus, this law could not have been well enforced in Sicily.

were the most fortunate of all these miserable creatures. They were provided with neither food nor clothing, but their flocks were a source of both, and they could easily maintain a brute existence. Hardened by lying day and night in the open fields, and provided with rude arms for defense against marauders or wild beasts, they were more than a match for any unwary traveller who journeyed alone or with a single companion. Guzzling down milk, and devouring raw meat, they became as brutish as the great mastiff dogs that attended them, and never hesitated to murder where they could obtain small spoil. No road in Sicily was safe for travellers at night, and poor farmers were killed in their lonely homes if they gave the slightest resistance to the bands who robbed and pillaged them.

The rich land-owners, often ignorant and unlettered, but swollen with pride of riches, cared less than nothing for the sufferings of their less fortunate neighbors. They could travel between their estates guarded by slaves, and, if the small land-owners perished, it was all the easier to annex their holdings. So it is not surprising that in the Slave Wars the free poor as well as the slaves joined in ravaging all Sicily, and, when it was once within their power, committed theft and outrage upon their haughty neighbors.[1]

Thus before and at the time of the Slave Wars, social life in Sicily presented a far from pleasant picture. No longer did a gay neatherd go off to try his fortune at the Olympic games;[2] for the rich and free who had leisure for such sport disdained any exertion, while the poor were being entirely crushed in the unequal competition with cheap slave labor. The large proprietors were both Sicilians and Italians. Roman knights were numerous and influential among them, and, before the second Slave War, prevented

[1] Diodorus XXXVI, 6.

[2] Theocritus, Idyl IV, 6, 7.

any efficient interference by the government, by threatening revenge upon the praetors at the end of their term of office. For since the time of the Gracchi they composed the juries before which ex-governors might be tried.[1] These and their Sicilian imitators lived in great luxury, with both country and city estates, between which they travelled in coaches drawn by stately horses, accompanied by a guard, and by a suite of flatterers and parasites. Their vast lands and herds of cattle brought them wealth which they expended on the adornment of their city homes. Here they accumulated curiously wrought silver and richly dyed carpets of great value. Here they gave magnificent banquets and entertainments rivalling the grandeur of kings, surpassing Persian luxury in pomp and extravagance.[2]

Then there were the small landholders, in wealth and influence almost extinct, though in numbers formidable, especially in time of trouble. Beneath these came the great mass of slaves already described. There were two hundred thousand slaves in the first uprising.[3] Reckoning one hundred thousand women and children, and one hundred thousand slaves in states which did not rise, we have a total of four hundred thousand slaves in 140 B. C. This was the largest number in proportion to the free population in any land in the Mediterranean.[4]

The *lex provinciae* established by Rupilius and his senatorial assistants at the end of the first Slave War was said to have been of great benefit to the island, for it favored

[1] Diodorus XXXIV, 2.

[2] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 35; cf. Cicero, Pro Roscio, XLVI, 133-4; Columella, R. R. I, 3, 12.

[3] Diodorus XXXIV, 2, 18.

[4] Beloch, Bevölkerung, 299. From the amount of food produced, Beloch reckons the total population at one million at the time of Cicero, and believes (273-4) that it had remained nearly stationary — had at any rate not decreased — since the Punic Wars.

the increase of the number of small landholders, and thus checked for a time the displacement of grain-raising by cattle enclosures and insured both protection to the weaker farmers and a better grain supply for Rome.[1] No change in slave holding can have been immediately noticeable, however, since, in spite of the slaughter of slaves in the first uprising, there were sufficient for another serious revolt thirty years later.[2]

Nevertheless the Sicily of Verres, only seventy years after the first Slave uprising and forty after the second, shows a somewhat different aspect. For several decades the tendency seems to have been away from increased pasturage and great *latifundia*, toward the holding of small farms. True it is that there were still those who owned or rented large allotments, cultivating them at great expense and keeping great numbers of stock, which were doubtless tended by slaves.[3] The fields of Nympho of Centuripa, who is cited as typical of rich Sicily landowners, yielded seven thousand *medimni*, by which we may know, if this was an average crop, that he controlled some thousand *iugera* of land, or slightly less if his fields were in fertile Leontini. The description of the goods of Apollonius of Panormus is comparable to that of the wealthy of seventy years before. His fortune was invested in slaves, in cattle, in country houses, in money out at loan.[4] Sthenius of Thermae owned farms and country houses.[5] Wealthy men such as these had their gold and silver vessels, their rich embroidered cloths, and valuable slaves, and were able at their pri-

[1] Valerius Maximus VI, 9, 8.

[2] Diodorus XXXVI.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 21.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 8.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 38.

vate expense to decorate their native towns with spacious places of public resort and with splendid monuments.[1]

Nevertheless, the description of many of the communities shows the existence of a great number of farms, larger or smaller, rather than a few dominating *latifundia.* Thus, the state of Agyrium was among the first of all Sicily for honor, — a state of wealthy men and excellent cultivators of the soil. The Centuripani were the most flourishing body of farmers in Sicily, and were engaged in cultivating the soil in almost every part of the island.[2] Tissa was a small poor city inhabited by very hard-working agriculturists and frugal men.[3] We are fortunate in having both the figures for the acreage and the number of land-holders in Leontini at the beginning of the praetorship of Verres. The list of iugera under cultivation did not exceed thirty thousand.[4] In 73 B. C. the cultivators of the district numbered eighty-three. Therefore the holdings in this fertile district averaged some three hundred and sixty iugera or two hundred and forty acres, which is certainly not excessive. There were also in Sicily multitudes who cultivated single iugera and never ceased from personal labor.[5]

From the number of references to leasing of the land which are found in Cicero's orations against Verres, one may infer that this was a common practice. The people of Leontini, with the exception of one family, cultivated no land, but leased it,[6] largely to the Centuripani, who culti-

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 19. 46 f.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 45.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 38.

[4] "*In Leontino iugerum subscriptio ac professio non est plus XXX.*"

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 11. *Qui singulis iugis arant, qui ab opere ipsi non recedunt, quo in numero magnus ante te (Verrem) praetorem numerus ac magna multitudo Sicolurum fuit.*

[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 46.

vated also the greater part of Aetna either as owners or tenants.[1] Nympho, already mentioned, leased land,[2] also Diocles of Panormus, who leased a farm in the Segestan district,[3] and the wife of Xeno Menaenus leased to a settler land which she held in her own name.[4] The cultivators of the *ager publicus*, who in Sicily were chiefly the original inhabitants, held the land from state contractors by lease.[5]

Romans, too, formed as large or a larger part of the population than ever before. Great numbers of Roman citizens lived and traded among the Agrigentines in the greatest harmony.[6] Roman knights suffered from the oppression of Apronius, the tool of Verres, even as the Sicilians suffered.[7] These were, of course, cultivators, but the more than one hundred Roman citizens out of the body of settlers at Syracuse who knew and defended Herennius must have been largely engaged in trade.[8] Cicero congratulates the Roman people because they have so near a "province with which they are connected, which is faithful and productive, to which they can easily make excursions, where they are welcome to engage in traffic. Some of them the island dismisses with gain and profit, by supplying them with merchandise, some she retains, as they take a fancy to turn farmers or graziers or traders in her land, or even to pitch in it their habitations and their homes." [9]

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 108.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 53.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 40.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 22.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 6; Greenidge, History of Rome, Vol. I, 45.

[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 43.

[7] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 25. The exact truthfulness of the statement may be doubted in view of Cicero's natural desire, as prosecutor, to gain the sympathy of the Romans.

[8] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 59.

[9] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 3. 6.

Probably the most flourishing business which engaged Romans in the province, aside from direct investment in agriculture or stock-raising, was the farming of the revenues by *societates publicanorum.* The system of taxation under which the island had been placed and its proximity to Roman markets made it exceedingly easy for Sicilian grain to be distributed to the Roman consumers.[1] This insured an active business to public companies, which ordinarily paid into the Roman treasury not grain but money — often in the form of a note to the governor. They placed their grain on the market as best they could.[2] The companies were composed of an outer and an inner circle.[3] The former consisted of the mass of shareholders, the latter of the promoters, managers and active agents in the concern, who formally contracted with the Roman Senate and People. We have evidence of both in Sicily.[4]

The law of Hiero enacted that the tenths of Sicily should be put up for auction within the island. On the one and only occasion that an attempt was made to deviate from this rule, in the case of the tenths of wine, oil, and small fruits, the opposition of the Sicilians was so strong that the old system was adhered to. This made it possible for local cities to compete against Romans for the collection

[1] Vide supra, p. 41 ff.

[2] Greenidge, History of Rome, Vol. I, 73.

[3] The tax gathering was not the sole business of these corporations. They took all sorts of government contracts, playing to some extent the role of modern public-service corporations.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 70. Lucius Carpinatius, a sub-collector, wrote accounts to the shareholders, urging them to go out in crowds to meet Verres and give him thanks. The shareholders did so, according to the custom of farmers. When these, the *socii,* had dispersed (Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 71), the chief collector (*magister societatis*) called the collectors of tenths (*decumani*) for more important business. Cf. Deloume, Les Manieurs d'Argent à Rome, which gives a detailed account of the organization of the *societates publicanorum.*

of the tenths,[1] and made a monopoly of the revenues impossible. Roman companies, however, tried to gain favor with the governor under whose edicts they were compelled to work,[2] and, although it was unlawful for the governor to be a partner in their enterprises,[3] they at times secured, through the governor, unfair advantages over native competitors. Companies were at times sufficiently strong financially to farm more than one kind of revenue, as e. g., the harbor dues and the tax on pasture lands, and also the tenths.[4]

Accurate accounts were kept of all transactions, including the names of all the cultivators and the amounts of their tenths.[5] Duplicates were kept by the *magistri* or directors,[6] but it was forbidden by law to remove the original documents from the province.[7]

The dealings of the *publicani* were usually not unreasonable, if the statement of Cicero is to be believed.[8] They realized that their interests were closely allied with those of the Sicilians. The fact of their community of interest in a thriving agriculture which could be encouraged only by fair dealings must have been very plain after their extortions under the direction of the unscrupulous Verres had brought so great a deterioration in crops, and therefore in tithes.

For the productivity of Sicily was not extraordinary, and only the system of taxation and the facilities of transport to Roman markets enabled her to withstand as long

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 33.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 40.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 72.57.
[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 70.
[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 47.
[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 74.
[7] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 76.
[8] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 2.

as she did the competition of more fruitful lands, such as the Po Valley.[1] Leontini, which was classed as one of the most highly cultivated districts,[2] was usually sown with about a *medimnus* of wheat to the iugerum, and returned eight-fold on the average. In an unusually favorable season, the return was ten-fold.[3] Since other districts were less fruitful, they could have yielded only about six-fold or seven-fold on the average.

From the figures which Cicero gives of the money paid to Verres for buying grain, it is possible to draw some idea of the size of the island's crop. We are told that Verres received each year for the purchase of the second tenths about 9,000,000 sesterces, and since he paid 3 sesterces a *modius,* the second tenths amounted to about 3,000,000 *modii,* and the total crop of the *civitates decumanae* to about 30,000,000 *modii* or 5,000,000 *medimni.*[4] There were besides these tithe-paying states eight *civitates foederatae* and *liberae et immunes.* Together the states which elected their own censors, i. e. all except those of the fourth class, numbred approximately sixty-five, and the *civitates decumanae* therefore about fifty-seven.[5] The number of states of the fourth class whose lands were censored at Rome is disputed, but they may be taken to be about six.[6] The crop of the *civitates decumanae* being then some fifty-seven seventy-firsts of the whole, the whole crop may be estimated at six and one fourth million *medimni.* If barley and the small

[1] Polybius II, 15; Greenidge, History of Rome, Vol. I, p. 71; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 2; II, 3, 5.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 18.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 47.

[4] A modius is about the equivalent of an English peck and is equal to one sixth of a Greek medimnus.

[5] Cf. Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 55 : *Censores* CXXX *facti sunt.*

[6] Vide supra p. 40.

fruits together equalled one half of the wheat crop, the total production would be from ten to twelve million *medimni*.[1]

The value of the wheat varied according to the seasons and the size of the crop. Just before the new harvest came in the market price might rise as high as five *denarii* a *modius*.[2] In the time of Verres, the price was at twelve, fifteen and eighteen sesterces a *medimnus*.[3]

The process of deterioration of agriculture and the replacing of grain fields by cattle enclosures — which had been well begun in the second century before Christ, as was evidenced by the number of shepherds in the slave revolts — received a temporary check through the law of Rupilius. But the evil was too fundamental to be reached by legislation, and the rapid change which followed within a few decades after the praetorship of Verres can be explained only on the basis of a long continued though largely concealed decay. The impoverishment caused by the extortions of Verres would have met with speedy recovery had the struggle for existence not been already difficult. As it was, the conservative farmers were harried from their homes by the oppression of the praetor and Sicily was left in a state of desertion from which she never recovered in the Roman period. Cicero gives the actual figures for the decrease in the numbers of cultivators in several districts. In Leontini the number decreased in three years from eighty-three to thirty-two, in Mutyca from one hundred and

[1] The estimate must be considered exceedingly rough, not only on account of the vagueness of figures already noted, but because it is impossible to know the exact areas of the different states or their acreage in grain, which varied greatly. Beloch, reckoning on a larger territory of the *civitates foederatae* and *liberae et immunes*, estimates the total crop as 7 1-3 to 8 million *medimni*. Bevölkerung, 273.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 92. A denarius was equal to four sesterces or about sixteen cents in American money. This is an exorbitant price and the text may be corrupt.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 37, 70 and 84.

eighty-eight to one hundred and one, in Herbita from two hundred and fifty-seven to one hundred and twenty, in Agyrium from two hundred and fifty to eighty.[1] Even the urgings of Metellus, Verres' successor, and his promises to sell the tenths by the law of Hiero failed to induce all to return,[2] and large districts remained deserted and unsightly.[3] Still sufficient reaction must have set in to allow Sicily to figure for a few years longer as a valuable grain-producing province. Pompey collected grain there.[4] Caesar hastened to acquire Sicily because of its value as a granary.[5] During the wars of Octavian with Sextus Pompeius the Roman people forced a truce because they suffered famine while Sextus held the island; but the food shortage at this date was probably largely due to the fact that Pompey's piratical expeditions cut off the food supply from Africa.[6]

By 44 B. C. an appointment to the superintendence of the grain supply of Sicily was an indignity. The position was so subordinate that it might be filled by *legati,* and Cassius, who received the appointment, declared he would not go to Sicily, and "accept as a favor what was meant as an insult."[7] Varro, writing at about the same time, stated that they "let our contracts for provisions from Africa and Sardinia," but did not mention Sicily.[8] Clearly Rome was no longer dependent on Sicily for her grain.

Before half a century had elapsed after the ruinous sway of Verres, the transformation of the island into a cattle breeding country was nearly complete. The ambition to

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 51.
[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 17; II, 3, 52-53.
[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 3, 18.
[4] Plutarch, Pompey, LI.
[5] Florus, Epitome II, 13.
[6] Aurelius Victor, De Viribus, 84.
[7] Cicero, Ad Atticum, XV, 9.
[8] Varro, R. R. I, 2, 3.

secure pastures near the sea for the winter, and on the hills in the summer,[1] led to a constant increase of acreage of individual holdings. Romans whose zeal for wealth caused them to acquire hundreds of thousands of cattle in the last century before the Christian era,[2] were eager, too, to acquire huge estates for their herding. Italy as well as Sicily was suffering from their aggrandizement.[3] Strabo gives a vivid picture of the island at the close of the Republic. The country was still extolled, as not inferior to Italy in fertility, but even surpassing that country for wheat, honey, and saffron.[4] It had become greatly depopulated, however, and the Romans, seeing the deserted condition of the country and having got possession of both the hills and most of the plains, had given them over to horse-breeders, herdsmen and shepherds.[5]

Strabo seems to attribute the rise of shepherding to a previous depopulation. Later writers, with a broader vision of the process, laid the desertion to the constantly increased number of slaves employed as shepherds.[6] The fact of the widespread depopulation remains, however, one of the most significant in the picture of the declining prosperity of the island. Many settlements were left entirely uninhabited, such as Himera, Gela, Callipolis, Selinus and others.[7] Cities of the aboriginal inhabitants which had survived into the Roman period now disappeared. Messana, Catania, and Tauromenium, which received Roman colonists in this

[1] Varro, R. R. II, 5, 11.

[2] Pliny, N. H. XXXIII, 47.

[3] Vergil, Eclogues, II, 21; for Agrippa in Sicily cf. Horace, Epistulae I, 12, 1 ff.

[4] Strabo, VI, 2, 7.

[5] Strabo, VI, 2, 6.

[6] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, III, 2, 6; Greenidge, History of Rome, Vol. I, 64.

[7] Strabo, VI, 2, 6.

period, remained fairly well populated, but the population of Syracuse — less than ten thousand in Cicero's day — had so dwindled that Augustus, in restoring the city after the depredations of Sextus Pompeius, fortified only the portion lying next to the island of Ortygia, which was still thickly inhabited.[1] The long southwest sea-coast from Pachynus to Lilybaeum, which had suffered most from the wars with Carthage, was entirely deserted, except for Agrigentum with its port. Lilybaeum remained in a fairly flourishing condition, and the north coast, nearest Italy, was well populated; Halaesa, Tyndaris, Egesta and Cephaloedium were still respectable towns, and Panormus received a colony. The interior, with the possible exception of Henna, which maintained a few inhabitants, was given over to stock-raising. The free population was never entirely suppressed even in the interior of Sicily, for Caesar ordered that one third of the shepherds should be freemen,[2] a regulation which he would never have insisted upon if it could not be enforced.[3] Beloch estimates that the population in the early part of the first century B. C. numbered 250,000 free inhabitants north of a line from Lilybaeum to Catania, and 100,000 south of that line.[4] He holds that the first deterioration of the island began after Caesar, on account of the rise of the African grain supply with which it could not compete, the change of the tenths to a fixed money tax,[5] and the decreasing number of slaves, a decrease due to the end of piracy. While all these factors contributed heavily to the decline which was most evident in this period, the causes of decay were in operation at an earlier

[1] Strabo, VI, 2, 4.

[2] Suetonius, Caesar, 42.

[3] Meyer, Kleine Schriften, 130.

[4] Bevölkerung, 296 f.

[5] Appian, B. C., V, 5; Dio Cassius, XLII, 6.

date and had shown their presence very plainly in the period of the Slave Wars.

Throughout the previous discussion of the economic status of the island during the Republic, the emphasis has been almost exclusively on agriculture, and rightly so, for Sicily figured predominantly in this period as an agricultural country. Other forms of industry did exist there, however, and must not be entirely neglected. The production and manufacture of wine which flourished in the vicinity of Aetna and at Messana may be deemed agricultural,[1] but less strictly so was the spinning and weaving of native wool into cloth. While usually a home industry, it was frequently carried on upon a large scale and apart from the farms where the sheep were raised. Thus a woman of Segesta had her house full of looms on which she made robes and coverlets for Verres. They were apparently dyed in or near the same establishment with purple dye supplied by the praetor.[2] Before Cicero's day, Sicily had provided clothing for Roman armies.[3] Besides this there was undoubtedly, as in Italy, the manufacture of garments on the farm solely for the use of the *familia*.[4]

Bronze couches and candelabra are mentioned as manufactures of Syracuse, and there were sufficient gold carvers and goldsmiths in the island to man an immense shop in the palace at Syracuse, which was engaged in fashioning for Verres gold goblets and cups to bear the *emblemata* torn from the family treasures of the island.[5]

Another minor occupation, which toward the end of the republic doubtless brought some little prosperity to those

[1] Strabo, VI, 2, 3.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 26.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 2.

[4] Cato, R. R. I, 3; Oliver, Roman Economic Conditions, 137.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 24.

engaged, was the entertainment of travellers. The town of Aetna was especially well situated to profit in this business, for all who travelled to Sicily, either for business or pleasure, desired to visit the volcano. Strabo says that the town was flourishing on its trade with the tourists. Not many years later Seneca was to describe Syracuse as a warm and enjoyable winter resort.[1]

Fishing was still, of course, a persistent if not important industry. Coins of Soluntium give evidence of tunny-fishing there.[2] Polybius describes most interestingly the sword-fishing in the Strait of Messana. A number of men lie in wait, two each in small two-oared boats, and one man is set to look out for them all. In the boat, one man rows while the other stands on the bow holding a spear. When the look-out signals the appearance of a sword-fish, the boat is rowed up to it and the man with the spear strikes it at close quarters, and then pulls the spear shaft away, leaving the harpoon in the fish's body. The harpoon is barbed and has a long rope attached to it. The rope is slackened until the wounded fish is wearied with its struggles and then the prize is hauled on land or into the boat if it is not too large.

Sea-eels (*muraenae*) were also caught in this strait and were exported to Rome for the fish ponds or for immediate consumption. They were considered a most delicate fare and were very easy to catch, because when floating on the surface of the water they became enervated by the sun's heat and did not readily recoil or plunge.[3]

Among other articles of export to Rome were the natural agricultural products, — cattle for slaughter, skins and

[1] Ad Marciam de Consolatione, XVII, 2, *lepidissima hiberna.*

[2] Solunto has a considerable tunny-fishery, to-day: Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, 219.

[3] Macrobius II, 11.

wool; fruits, wine, and honey;[1] doves,[2] cloth, cushions, candelabra, gold, silver, ivory, embroidered stuff.[3] All these provided opportunities for those who wished to make their fortunes in trade. Groups of Romans or natives were to be found in all the great cities receiving the products and supplying the shipping by which they were to be transferred to Rome. The equestrian class especially profited by this, for the regulation that no senator or senator's son should own a ship of more than 300 amphorae burden was a dead letter when Cicero indicted Verres.[4] Native Sicilians of senatorial rank were frequently debarred by local decree from engaging in trade.[5]

The size and importance of the trade is shown by the fact that Verres exported from Syracuse in a few months goods on which the 5 per cent. export tax, had he paid it, would have aggregated 60,000 sesterces. The value of the goods exported must have been 1,200,000 sesterces. At Syracuse, also, the bankers, who would be ultimately connected with trade, the operations of which they would aid to finance, were so strong that they dared to accuse Verres and bring him before the *quaestiones* while he was still in the exercise of his powers.[6]

[1] Strabo VI, 2, 6, and 7; Cicero, In Verrem II, 2, 74 and 75.

[2] Athenaeus IX, 51.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 72.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 5, 18.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 49.

[6] Deloume, Manieurs, 336.

CHAPTER V

Religion and Magic

In Roman Sicily as in Greece and Italy the older cults of the Olympic deities very naturally survived to take their place beside the more recent developments in the expression of religious thought and feeling. So it is that we find the continuation of worship at numerous temples and altars dedicated to Zeus,[1] Athena,[2] Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite and all their confrères, and the frequent representation of these gods on coins and inscriptions.[3] To Demeter and Persephone Sicily laid a special claim, as being in fact their natural home, to which by good fortune they had given the first gift of grain.[4] Here Persephone was carried off, from a grove in the territory of Enna, and Demeter when she started to search for her daughter lit her torches at the flames which burst from the summit of Aetna.

Syracuse celebrated a yearly festival at which she sacrificed a bull and cast it into the lake Cyanes, where Hades was supposed to have disappeared with his bride.[5] Indeed, through all Sicily the worship of Demeter prevailed, but the belief in her peculiar influence at Enna is attested by the fact that in the consulship of Publius Mucius and Lucius

[1] Polyaenus V, 1.

[2] C. I. L. X 2, 7120; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 55.

[3] Head, Historia Numorum, pp. 124-139; Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, p. 206.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 48.

[5] Diodorus, V, 3, 5; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 48.

Calpurnius,[1] when dire prodigies warned of the displeasure of the gods, Roman priests, at the bidding of the Sibylline books, went to Enna to sacrifice.[2] At a strange festival to Demeter celebrated at Enna at the sowing of wheat, the whole population indulged in obscene language in their conversation for a period of days, believing that the goddess, mourning for her daughter, was amused by such extravagances. For so completely were the people of Enna convinced that Demeter lived familiarly among them that all felt themselves in a manner to be priests and ministers of the goddess.[3] Great, therefore, was their consternation and dismay when the infamous Verres desecrated her temple by the pillage of her statues. The priests went out to Cicero with garlands of vervain and with fillets pleading for restoration and atonement for the indignity to the goddess,[4] while all Sicily laid the desolate ruin of the crops and the desertion of the cultivators to the dreadful wrath of Demeter.[5]

Zeus was so revered among the Syracusans that his priesthood was considered the most honorable. To fill this office three men were elected, one from each of the three classes of the city and from these the priest was determined by lot, that both human and divine approval might combine on his selection.[6] Artemis, the maiden goddess, was revered

[1] Or the year following ; vide supra, p. 54.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 49.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 50.

[4] The goddess was here evidently attended by men. In Catania the statue of Demeter in the inmost shrine of her temple was worshipped and attended only by women and virgins, so that, before its seizure by Verres, men were ignorant of what sort it was or even of its existence. Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 44.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 51.

[6] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 51.

in her sacred grove by mystic ceremonies in which were paraded wild beasts.[1]

But of greater local importance than any of these last and rivalling even Demeter in the antiquity of its preeminence was the worship of Venus Erycina. Associated with Eryx in the first place by the primitive Elymi,[2] the goddess was assimilated by the Phoenicians with Astarte,[3] by the Greeks of West Sicily with Aphrodite, by the Romans with Venus. The temple was described by Polybius [4] as one of the most important of Sicily, and its significance for the Romans was enhanced by the legend that Aeneas had built it to his mother and heroized father.[5] Although according to Strabo the ancient fame of the temple had somewhat diminished by his day, so that the temple was not as well filled with priestesses as formerly.[6] Diodorus, writing at nearly the same time, claimed that the shrine contrasted with all others in this respect, that while others waned in the reverence paid them and finally fell to ruin, this had grown more and more in reputation and esteem.[7] Consuls and praetors were among those who thronged the temple to make rich gifts and sacrifices to the goddess. Publicani of the island used part of their profits to dedicate gifts here;[8] the Roman government permitted seventeen of the most trustworthy cities to combine in the support of the

[1] Theocritus, Idyl II.

[2] Thucydides VI, 2, 1.

[3] C. I. Sem. I, 135, 140.

[4] Polybius I, 55, 8; II, 7, 9.

[5] Vergil, Aen. V, 759 f.

[6] Strabo, VI, 11, 6.

[7] Diodorus IV, 83, 1.

[8] C. I. L. X 2, 7121.

shrine, and provided for the protection of the rich treasure by a guard of two hundred soldiers.[1]

The temple was certainly of sufficient importance in the early empire for Tiberius to undertake its repair,[2] which was brought to completion by Claudius.[3] Aelian, writing in the second century A. D., relates that the treasures of Venus were still kept intact through fear of the goddess' vengeance for any depredation.[4] He also gives an interesting picture of the worship. The great altar beneath the goddess burned all day even till nightfall with the many sacrifices it received, but, though the sacred fires shed a radiance, they left no coal or ash or fire brand. The altar was covered with moisture and with herbs that sprang up in a single night. Curious was the sacrificial ceremony, for the victims approached to the altar of their own will, drawn on by the power of the goddess and the wish of the sacrificer. For, if the latter desired to offer up a sheep, a sheep stood at the altar and presented his throat to the sacrificial knife, or if a she-goat or kid, this appeared according to his desire. If, on the other hand, he wished to present a larger gift as a cow, he must take care to pay the herdsmen a fair price, for the goddess instinctively knew the justice of the transaction, and, if an unjust price were paid, the money was wasted, for the victim would not approach the altar.

The doves of the temple were also sacred and signified the beneficent presence of the goddess.[5] For at a certain time of year, which the Sicilians called The Departure,

[1] C. I. G. 5561, 5598.

[2] Tacitus, Annales, IV, 43.

[3] Suetonius, Claudius, 25.

[4] Aelian, De Nat. Anim. X, 50.

[5] Doves were prominent in Mediterranean religions from earliest times, and were constant companions of the goddess of love, under her many guises.

when Venus was supposed to be departing into Africa, all the doves disappeared as if to accompany her. Nine days later a solitary dove returned flying across the sea like a herald sent ahead to proclaim the approach of the goddess. Then all the other doves came back and the inhabitants celebrated the glad festival of Return, clapping their hands in joy and feasting if their means permitted.

In addition to these local manifestations of the more universal Greek gods, Sicily boasted a number of lesser deities peculiar to herself, the geniuses of natural features of that land, deities which were very probably the objects of pre-Greek worship, the products of native animism. Such were the river god Chrysas, of Assorum, whose temple and statue attracted the cupidity of Verres,[1] the river god Gelas, who was worshipped at Gela, and Hyblaea, worshipped at Hybla.[2] The fountain Arethusa was the center of legend and a cult which forbade even to the time of Diodorus any troubling of the fish of the sacred waters. If anyone under the stress of hunger in war time dared to feed upon them, he met with immediate and dire destruction.[3] It is uncertain whether Himera was originally a goddess of the town or river or whether a statue had been made to represent the spirit of the town or river and had come to be venerated.[4]

The extreme reverence paid to statues themselves shows the strong hold of all these cults upon the common people in spite of the tendency to skepticism and atheism which is known to have set in at a much earlier date.[5] When a statue of Artemis was being taken from Segesta,

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 44; Head, Historia Numorum, 127.

[2] Head, Historia Numorum, 129.

[3] Diodorus, V, 3, 5.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 35.

[5] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 39.

the women came together and anointed it with precious unguents and crowned it with chaplets and flowers, and attended it to the borders with frankincense and burning perfumes.[1] The statue of Herakles at Agrigentum had been so kissed by worshippers as they addressed their prayers and congratulations to the god that the mouth and chin were slightly worn away.[2] Of the extraordinary repulsion shown by the Sicilians when they threw down in the temples the statues of Verres, a mere mortal and a despicable one besides, Cicero remarks, "since it was the custom among all the Greeks to think that honors of that sort, though paid to mortals, are to some extent consecrated and under the protection of the gods."

Among the most prominent of the purely local deities — Demeter and Persephone had of course been greatly localized in their cults — were the Palici, of whom Macrobius gives a detailed account.[3] Twin sons of the nymph Thalia and of Zeus, they emerged at birth from the earth into which Thalia had cast herself out of fear of Juno, and so, according to Aeschylus, derived their name, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ικέσθα*, because having been first covered in the earth they emerged therefrom. They are seen to have been the gods of refuge in the Second Slave War, when the slaves, disappointed in their hope of freedom and fearing punishment if they returned from Syracuse, whither they had thronged, to their indignant masters, sought refuge in large numbers with the Palici and here formed their conspiracy. To the Palici, also, Salvius, the slave leader, when he had set up his kingdom, dedicated a purple robe in gratitude for his victory.[4] It is worth noting that Diodorus speaks

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 34.

[2] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 43.

[3] Macrobius, Saturnalia, V, 19.

[4] Diodorus XXXVI, 3, 1. 2.

of the twin lakes as those of the Palici themselves, on the authority of the seventh book of Callias, Historia de Rebus Siculis, while Macrobius identifies the lakes as the Delli, brothers of the Palici. It is about the lakes that the cult chiefly grew up, because, although small, they were very deep (probably they were of volcanic origin) and continually bubbled up in a mysterious manner from their depths. The cult was especially concerned with the taking of oaths, the truth or falsity of which they were efficacious in determining. When an oath was desired from a suspected person or if one wished to prove beyond doubt the validity of a vow, the persons concerned first carefully purified themselves of all contamination and donned new clothes, for the lakes exhaled an odor which suffocated all who did not thus purify themselves. It was also well for him who was to take oath or make a vow to give some security for the thing in question. For, if the vow were false and the one pledging suffered the dread vengeance of the gods, the receiver of the vow might have the satisfaction of seeing a perjurer's awful fate, but would have little opportunity to recover the object desired. When preliminaries were accomplished, the contestants went to the border of the crater and witnesses read off the formula of the oath from a tablet. Then he that took the oath, with head crowned and with a little bow in his hand, invoked the spirit of the place, making him a witness of his vow. If he withdrew safe and sound, the oath was to be trusted. If he pronounced it with an evil conscience, he was instantly plunged into the lake by the affronted gods and lost his life. Macrobius thus distinguished between the Palici and the lakes, by asserting that the Palici might be appeased, but the Delli were implacable.

The temple of the Palici was known also for its oracles. Once when Sicily suffered a sterile year the oracle of the

Palici admonished the people to perform a certain sacrifice. Since abundance returned immediately after the sacrifice, the Sicilians heaped all sorts of fruits on the altar of the Palici and thereafter the altar was called the altar of plenty.[1]

Closely allied with the cults of the older order, which had frequently for their chief interest the divining of the will of the gods or the attempt to control it by gift, were various rites of divination and magical charms wrought by individuals with the aid of the gods. Thus the Galeots of Hybla were a race of diviners who observed especially a kind of lizard (γαλεῶται), from which they very probably derived their name.[2] The lizard stood in close mythical relations with Apollo.[3]

Of foreign cults which became prominent in Sicily during the Roman era, perhaps the most important was the worship of Isis and Serapis. In Cicero's day the temple of Serapis at Syracuse was the most frequented place in the city.[4] Numerous coins of Syracuse also show the appearance of the new deities, — coins with the image of Isis holding a flaming torch and standing in a chariot drawn by four horses — the representation of a festival in which the statue of the goddess was drawn about the city. Other coins show the head of Isis or Serapis, or the figure of Isis standing holding her sistrum.[5] At Catania also there was a plentiful bronze currency, on which these deities were prominent.[6]

The cult of Isis was conjoined with that of Serapis in

[1] Macrobius, V, 19, quotes here from Xenogoras, in the third book of his history, De Loci Divinatione.

[2] Pausanias VI, 2, 4.

[3] Cf. Cicero, De Divinatione I, 20, 39, and the statues of Apollo Sauroktonos.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 66.

[5] Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, p. 209.

[6] Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, p. 205.

the fourth century B. C. in Egypt.[1] The origin of the cult, whether as that of a Greco-Pontic Zeus or a Babylonian Baal is disputed, but its chief significance for us lies in the various characteristics of the deities in which may be found its appeal to the Sicilians of the last century before the Christian era. Serapis was identified with Osiris, brother and husband of Isis, the chief person of the solar myth. All his acts were symbolic of the revolutions of the day, but also of human destiny. He united the aspects of joy, light, intensity of life with evil, shade, fatal power and necessity of death. In the decline of paganism he absorbed the attributes of all the old male gods, becoming an expression of the syncretizing tendency of the times, and in addition had the power of giving to his devotees an assurance of personal redemption which was demanded of the cults of the period.

Isis, the faithful wife of Osiris or Serapis, figured first as a goddess of the soil, and closely paralleled Demeter in her attributes. As Demeter had sought her daughter all over the world, so Isis sought the mutilated body of her husband, and bore torches as symbols of her search. She represented, too, the changing seasons of abundance and of want in significance of which she carried sheaves of wheat. When her husband came to embody all the attributes of the gods, she absorbed those of the goddesses, and together they ruled over heaven and earth. In their worship they also showed this syncretism, at once combining the Mysteries of Dionysus, which were closely paralleled in their religious observances, and the healing power of Asklepios. Their temples, like his, were houses of incubation and marvellous cures were attributed to them.

It is not strange that deities with such a variety of attractions should have been the most popular in a land where

[1] Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, 87-89.

agriculture had already increased the importance of Demeter and where Asklepios made a special appeal, — where, too, a vigorous religious sensibility had long since challenged the vitality of the old gods and looked for something which would fill their place. The very insistence of the cult on a continuous and arduous service from its devotees greatly increased their devotion and impelled ever greater numbers to join their ranks. Isis and Serapis may be considered as a link connecting the worship of the old gods with the newer mystery cults which gave promise of personal salvation and a life of future blessedness to their adherents.

Among other gods that came from the East to Sicily in this period was Magna Mater.[1] The little town of Engyon was famed for her temple. Here the mystic rites and wild dances in honor of the Great Mother, goddess of fertility, and her lover Attis raised the devotees to a pitch of ecstasy and a frenzy of devotion in which they mutilated their bodies. The religion contained elements of crude and coarse animism, including the worship of trees, stones, and animals, combined with purification and salvation through a mystic ceremony similar to that of other oriental religions of the period.[2]

We are less prepared to find implanted on the island the worship of Zeus Ammon, the oracular god of the Libyan oasis.[3] He was associated by the Greeks and the Romans with Zeus and Jupiter, but was always characterized on coins or statues by the horns of a ram to represent the disguise assumed by Zeus in his appearance to Herakles while the latter was journeying to India.

In the period of the empire, the province very naturally joined in the worship of the deified emperor, and inscrip-

[1] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 4, 95; II, 5, 186.

[2] Cumont, Oriental Religions, 48.

[3] Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, p. 206.

tions have survived bearing the names of various priests of the cult. A tablet found at Mazara, but belonging to Lilybaeum, is inscribed to the Flamen of the *divus Augustus perpetuus*.[1] Another from Messana is inscribed to the Flamen of the deified Augusta. Catania shows Seviri Augustales,[2] and an official augur,[3] and Panormus also has Seviri Augustales.[4]

This worship of the emperor was one of the chief influences which served to unite the empire. Along with it went the reverence of abstract civic virtues, often worshipped as gods, such as Aequitas,[5] and Concordia. To these virtues the Lilybitani set up an inscription, but procured the proconsul, M. Haterius, and the quaestor, L. Cornelius Marcellus, to dedicate it, — a quite unusual proceeding and one which must have been calculated to obtain the favor of the Roman magistrates.[6]

The extreme religious nature of an agricultural people. such as that of Sicily, which has been seen in all the many manifestations of religious thought and feeling already described, was finally to come to fruition in the developments of early Christianity on the island during the late empire. The literature of the period is full of incredible myths and martyrologies which have no historical value except as they demonstrate the continuation and amplification of this religious enthusiasm.

[1] C. I. L. X 2, 7212.
[2] C. I. L. X 2, 7027.
[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7028.
[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7269.
[5] Hill, Coins of Ancient Sicily, 206.
[6] C. I. L. X 2, 7192.

CHAPTER VI

Sicily under the Empire

I. Political Status and Organization

With the approach of the empire came the first steps to give to Sicilian communities a higher political status. All the towns of South Italy had received the full franchise by 88 B. C. at the end of the Social War. Sicily had never been associated with South Italy sufficiently to receive up to the time of Verres even Latin rights as communities, although individuals had been honored with full Roman citizenship for special benefits,[1] and Roman citizens had of course settled in the province in large numbers for trading and agricultural purposes.

Caesar, before his death, gave the *ius Latinum* to the Sicilians, apparently as a whole; at Caesar's death, Antony proposed a law granting to the Sicilians full Roman citizenship on the ground that it had been carried at the comitia by the dictator.[2] Diodorus also says that the Sicilians were thought worthy of the rights of Roman citizens.[3] The

[1] As, e. g. Muttines, who betrayed Agrigentum to the Romans in the First Punic War. See Dittenberger, Sylloge, 268; Livy XXVII, 5, 6, 7; Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 8.

[2] Cicero, Ad Atticum, XIV, 12.

[3] Diodorus XIII, 35. πολλαὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσαν πόλεων χρώμεναι διετέλεσαν τοῖς τούτου νόμοις μέχρι ὅτου πάντες οἱ Σικελιῶται τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἠξιώθησαν.

status of Sicilian communities as given by Pliny is very different, however, and the difference has led to manifold conjectures and controversies concerning the interpretation of the passages. Pliny lists five colonies, Tauromenium, Catania, Syracuse, Thermae, and Tyndaris, one *oppidum civium Romanorum,* Messana, and of Latin rights (*Latinae conditionis*) Centuripa, Neetum and Segesta. He then lists alphabetically forty-six peoples as stipendiary.[1] In this list he makes several obvious errors, as e. g. he names the Gelani of Phintias as both Gelani and Phintienses, and mentions Zancle, the old Messana, as a separate community. He entirely fails to mention a number of peoples, such as the Assoritani, Apollonienses, Calactini, Capitini, Elorini, and Heracleenses, which are mentioned by Cicero in his orations against Verres, and which, even in a period of rapidly decreasing population, would hardly all have become extinct in so short a time. These errors can be explained only by carelessness.

The real subject in dispute is the political status of these communities. Mommsen held, on the basis of the passage from Diodorus already cited, that the Sicilian communities did actually receive and retain the Roman citizenship at the death of Caesar, and that all Sicilian communities were either *coloniae* or *municipia civium Romanorum,* and that none was either of *Latinae conditionis* or *stipendiarii.* He considered the lists to represent the public tables of the age of Augustus so interpolated that those about

[1] These were the Assorini, Aetnenses, Agyrini, Acestaei, Acrenses, Bidini, Cetarini, Cacyrini, Drepanitani, Ergetini, Echetlienses, Erycini, Entellini, Etini, Enguini, Gelani, Galatani, Halesini, Hennenses, Hyblenses, Herbitenses, Herbessenses, Herbulenses, Halicyenses, Hadranitani, Imacarenses, Ichanenses, Ietenses, Mutustratini, Magellini, Murgetini, Mutycenses, Menanini, Naxii, Noaeni, Petrini, Paropini, Phintinses, Semellitani, Scherini, Selinuntii, Symaethii, Talarenses, Tissinenses, Triocalini, Tyracinenses, Zanclaei, Messenii in Siculo freto.

which nothing was noted were added as *stipendiarii* or of Latin rights. Mommsen also held that the statement of Strabo [1] was sufficient proof that Panormus was a Roman colony in the age of Augustus.[2] The result of this estimate is practically to discount the value of Pliny's statement.

Beloch, on the other hand, while recognizing the undeniable errors in Pliny's enumeration, is not willing to disregard entirely its authority. He holds that the statement of Diodorus that Sicily received Roman citizenship at the death of Caesar is dubious, or may mean merely that Sicily received Latin rights, on account of the fact that the gift of Antony was made ineffectual by the Senate, and that Augustus would be extremely unlikely to help the island which had aided Sextus Pompeius. Beloch also believes that Strabo's statement about the colony at Panormus is unimportant on account of its omission by Pliny, adducing in support of this claim, both the argument that the words of Strabo might be interpreted to mean a settlement of veterans, without the formal establishment of a colony (this seems very improbable), and the suggestion that Pliny undoubtedly took his list from a handbook of the period of Claudius which is the source for his description of other provinces.[3] The solution of the problem he finds in the interpolation of the word *immunes* after the words *intus Latinae condicionis,* so that the list would read, after interpolation, *intus Latinae condicionis* (*immunes*) Centuripini, Netini, Segestani, *stipendiarii,* Assorini, Aetnenses, etc. Of course a community might enjoy the *ius Latinum* and still be stipendiary.[4]

[1] Strabo VI, 2, 5. Πάνορμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἔχει κατοικίαν.

[2] Mommsen, C. I. L. X 2, p. 713.

[3] Beloch, Bevölkerung, 325, 326.

[4] Beloch, Bevölkerung, 327, 328.

Cuntz (Zur Geschichte Siciliens in der Caesarisch-Augusteischen Epoche) would also uphold the list of Pliny, but resolves the contradictions in a slightly different manner, on the hypothesis that Sicily did indeed receive Latin rights under Caesar and Roman citizenship through Antony in 44 B. C., but that Augustus, when he ordered the affairs of the island in 36 B. C., degraded its rights so that Pliny's description is true for the Augustan period. To prove that Sicilian communities did indeed receive Roman citizenship under Antony he cites an official document found on columns at Tauromenium, which gives the Roman names of months.[1] Cuntz believes that this falls after 70 B. C.[2] Since the fifth month was called Quinctilis, not Julius, he believes that it was before 36 B. C. when Augustus made this state a Roman colony. However, the "proofs" which Cuntz adduces to support his not improbable main contention that Sicilian communities received full Roman citizenship in 44 B. C., but were later degraded, seem, all of them, trivial in the extreme. The passage which he cites from Cicero's oration against Verres [3] describes the Greek system of intercalary months, but does not prove that Roman names for months were not sometimes used before 70 B. C. Cicero speaks of *Idus Januarias* and *in Kalendas Martias* in his discussion. The continued use of Greek in official documents of Tauromenium is certainly slender proof that Tauromenium received municipal rights, not by special act, but in common with all the Sicilians. An undated inscription in which Haluntia is called τὸ μουνικίπιο[4] can only by guesswork be placed in the period between 70 and 36 rather than somewhat later.

[1] Collitz, Sammlung, 5220-5225.

[2] Cuntz, 464.

[3] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 52.

[4] I. G. XIV, 367.

No one of the various interpretations given leaves the question satisfactorily answered. Perhaps Beloch's solution is the neatest, but, after admitting the many errors in Pliny, one is loath to relinquish the evidence of Strabo for the colony at Panormus, especially as later inscriptions show its presence.[1] If it were to become a colony, it would naturally receive the name when it received a settlement of either veterans or proletariat. The list of five colonies mentioned by Pliny — Syracuse,[2] Thermae Himerae,[3] Tyndaris,[4] Catania[5] and Tauromenium[6] — is authenticated by numerous references.

Augustus was the first to found colonies in Sicily. Caesar had settled 80,000 Italians across sea.[7] Augustus settled more than 30,000,[8] including those in Sicily.[9] He paid for the lands which he took for this purpose[10] except, of course, where it was *ager publicus*. The object of the colonization was to provide for the superabundant poor population of Rome, to reward soldiers who had served their time, to Romanize the province more completely, and, most especially in the case of Sicily, to rehabilitate decadent communities and introduce a much needed class of free laborers.

[1] C. I. L. X 2, 7286, 7279.

[2] Strabo VI, 2, 4; C. I. L. X 2, 7131, 7132; Ptolemaeus III, 4, 9.

[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7345.

[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7474, 7475, 7476, 7480.

[5] Strabo VI, 2, 3; Ptolem. II, 4, 9.

[6] Diodorus XVI, 7.

Lilybaeum is shown by C. I. L. X 2, 7205, 7228, 7222, 7236, 7239 to have been a colony at a later date, receiving the *ius coloniae* either from Pertinax, or from Severus, in memory of Pertinax.

[7] Suetonius, Jul. IV, 2.

[8] Monumentum Ancyranum, 3.

[9] Mon. Ancy. 28.

[10] Mon. Ancy. 16.

In spite of a Roman domination which had at the beginning of the empire already lasted about two hundred and fifty years, and in spite of her proximity to Rome and Italy, the island of Sicily did not become completely Romanized even under the empire. The distinctions between its ethnic elements disappeared very slowly, for, like other Greeks, the Sicilians held tenaciously to their customs and language. Even the language of the primitive Siculi remained long in use, and Apuleius, in the second century A. D., called them trilingual.[1] Before the time of Augustus inscriptions written in Latin, such as those dedicated to Venus Erycina in Eryx,[2] to Hercules at Castranuova,[3] and to Apollo,[4] and that which was set up at Halaesa to the Roman praetor [5] were all dedicated by foreigners, not by native Sicilians. There have survived no public inscriptions or coins of Sicily written in Latin, except those which were contemporary with or after Augustus. From the time of Augustus all public inscriptions in the *coloniae* were required to be written in Latin. This was permitted, but not required of the *municipia*.[6] So we find that Haluntia as a municipium dedicated inscriptions both in Latin [7] and in Greek [8] and that the duoviri of Lipara issued coins stamped with Greek names.[9] Latin inscriptions of this age show a certain unfamiliarity and stumbling in writing.[10]

Whether the colonies were Roman or Latin, of prole-

[1] Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XI, 5.
[2] C. I. L. X 2, 7121, 7253, 7254, 7255.
[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7197.
[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7265.
[5] C. I. L. X 2, 7459.
[6] Mommsen, C. I. L. X 2, p. 713.
[7] C. I. L. X 2, 7463, 7464.
[8] C. I. G. 5602.
[9] C. I. L. X 2, p. 772.
[10] C. I. L. X 2, p. 737.

tariat or of veterans, the *senatus consultum* or imperial edict which constituted them assured them their own administration. The *municipia* also had their local organization. Citizenship in a special local community rested on the principle which prevailed over all Roman dominions, that of *"municipalis origo."* Every free man was a member of a community, citizenship in which he had derived by inheritance, or enrollment by resolution of the local authority, or adoption by a citizen, or manumission (in the case of a slave), or by imperial grant.[1] To this community he owed duties which he could not transfer to another community even though he changed his place of residence.

The scheme of local organization in the *municipia* continued to be much as it had been in the period before the *municipia* received the *ius Latinum*. The popular assembly of all the citizens (*populus* or *demos*) continued. Within the assembly the citizens were grouped in *curiae* or, as frequently in Sicily, in tribes. These sections of citizens generally had a separate corporate existence with special officers, particularly for sacred purposes and festivals.[2] In addition to this, some form of senate was universal, called *ordo, curia,* or, in communities of Greek inheritance, *βουλή*. The members were called *decuriones* or *curiales*.[3] In Sicily the membership of this body undoubtedly continued to be filled by direct election, with qualifications of age, property ownership, etc., generally in operation.

The highest officers in the *municipia* as well as in the *coloniae* were the *duoviri iure dicundo* (the office of *quattuorviri* entirely disappeared after the citizenship began to be given to persons outside Italy, and the office of *duoviri*

[1] Reid, Municipalities, 438.

[2] Reid, Municipalities, 438.

[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7026.

was held in the provinces in the *municipia* not less than in the *coloniae*).[1] There is evidence of *duoviri* at Tauromenium,[2] at Centuripa,[3] at Lilybaeum,[4] at Panormus,[5] at Thermae Himerae,[6] and at Halaesa.[7] *Duoviri quinquennales* also are found at Catania,[8] Thermae Himerae,[9] and perhaps at Lilybaeum.[10] One unique inscription at Catania shows the *duoviri* to have been constituted by popular election.[11]

Turning now to the lower officials we note that there are references to aediles at Lilybaeum[12] and Catania.[13] At Catania quaestors, who seem to have been created *decurionum decreto*, are found.[14] Quaestors also occur at Lilybaeum,[15] and officers called *decemprimi* make a rather early appearance there.[16] We have inscriptions showing the presence of these lower officials of Roman title only in *coloniae*. The frequent recurrence of the title of *Seviri Augustales* proves that these priests of the emperor worship held an influential place in the communities.[17] Lesser officers, such as *scribae publicae* at Messana,[18] the curator of the calendar

[1] C. I. L. X 2, p. 713.
[2] C. I. L. X 2, 6994, 6995.
[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7004.
[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7211, 7236.
[5] C. I. L. X 2, 7274, 7275.
[6] C. I. L. X 2, 7348, 7353.
[7] Cat. British Museum, Sicily, p. 28, n. 16.
[8] C. I. L. X 2, 7028.
[9] C. I. L. X 2, 7356.
[10] C. I. L. X 2, 7211, 7235.
[11] C. I. L. X 2, 7023, *populi suffragiis creatum.*
[12] C. I. L. X 2, 7223, 7222.
[13] C. I. L. X 2, 7026.
[14] C. I. L. X 2, 7026.
[15] C. I. L. X 2, 7236, 7239.
[16] C. I. L. X 2, 7236.
[17] C. I. L. X 2, 7267, 7269, 7354, 7212, 7027, 6978.
[18] C. I. L. X 2, 6979.

and of the money at Panormus,[1] and the curator of the public grain at Lilybaeum,[2] also occur.

When the communities either as colonies or *municipia* received full Roman citizenship, they were naturally enrolled in Roman tribes. There are mentioned the Pompirian,[3] Orfinian,[4] Claudian,[5] and Quirinian[6] tribes in various cities. At Lilybaeum there was in addition a division of the people into twelve tribes[7] of which one was called *tribus Iovis Augusti.*[8]

The *duoviri quinquennales,* which have already been mentioned, were the *duoviri* elected every five years with the special function of taking the census. In Sicily the change from the payment of tithes is not expressly stated anywhere, but is inferred from the fact that Varro does not enumerate the island among the wheat-paying countries.[9] As he wrote about 36 B. C. the change could hardly have taken place later than Julius Caesar. Pliny calls forty-seven of the states stipendiary, by which it is understood that they did not enjoy the *ius Italicum* granting freedom from tax. Under the Empire the publicani, who continued to collect the taxes, passed under the surveillance and authority of the agents of the government, and could not exert the oppressive control which they had exercised formerly. Gradually a general provincial census was established, first in the imperial provinces, then in the senatorial. Sicily, which in

[1] C. I. L. X 2, 7295.
[2] C. I. L. X 2, 7239.
[3] C. I. L. X 2, 7222.
[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7224.
[5] C. I. L. X 2, 7237, 7348, 7355, 7422, 7023, 7034.
[6] C. I. L. X 2, 7019.
[7] C. I. L. X 2, 7206, 7233.
[8] C. I. L. X 2, 7237.
[9] De Re Rustica II, prol.

the division of provinces under Augustus fell into the class of senatorial provinces,[1] therefore felt the effect of this later. Even then the *quinquennales* took the census and sent in the result to the provincial censor.[2] The 5 per cent. tax on exports and imports continued, and a 4 per cent. tax on the purchase of slaves, instituted by Augustus in 7 A. D.,[3] must have brought in a fair revenue from Sicily in the early empire.

Local revenues were derived from state lands, rents of shops, fines, and fees from officials, and most of all from donations. Fines were frequent and heavy. The proceeds went to the local exchequer. The expenses of the state were, on the other hand, small. Religious festivals were paid for in large part by the revenue of sacred colleges and temples. The theatres, aqueducts, baths and temples were generally provided and kept up by private donors. Commemorative statues and monuments in the palaestrae were frequently demanded by wills as a condition of inheritance.[4] The baths, theatres, and gymnasia themselves brought in little revenue, for they were open without pay or the fee was trivial.[5]

Gymnasia, reservoirs, etc., of Roman origin naturally date for the most part from the period when definite settlements of Roman colonists were made in the island, i. e. in general they do not come before the early empire. Remains of these are found in many of the cities which received large Roman populations. For example at Syracuse there are ruins of a Roman palaestra, a Roman reservoir, a building in a garden which was probably used as a bath,

[1] Suetonius, Aug. 47; Strabo XVII, 3, 25; Dio Cassius LIII, 12.

[2] Marquardt, I, 486; Henzen, 7075.

[3] Tacitus, Annales, XIII, 31; Dio Cassius LV, 31.

[4] Cicero, In Verrem, II, 2, 8, 10, 14.

[5] Reid, Municipalities, ff., 450.

and, most famous of all, an amphitheatre of the period of Augustus, seventy-seven yards in length and forty-four in width. The names of proprietors of seats are found on scattered blocks of marble within the amphitheatre.[1] At Catania, which also received a Roman colony, there is a Roman bath with the caldarium, the apodyterium (dressing room), tepidarium (tepid bath), and the hypocaustrum (heating apparatus). The building lies under the Carmelite Church All'Indirizzo.[2] There are also the remains here of a Graeco-Roman theatre, chiefly under ground. The Roman structure (diameter 106 yards, orchestra 31 yards) was erected on the foundations of the Greek and contained two *praecinctiones* and nine *cunei*. All that is left of the stage is a *parascenium*. Adjacent to this and wholly above ground is an *odeum*, forty-four yards in diameter, which was entirely of Roman origin, but much altered in later centuries. It was probably used for rehearsals of players and for musical performances. Nearby is a circular structure which originally belonged to a Roman bath establishment.[3] Ruins are also to be found in the city of a Roman amphitheatre which was restored by the sons of Constantine, but partly removed during the reign of Theodoric. The arena is unusually large (76 1-2 by 54 1-2 yds.), being inferior in size to the Colosseum alone. There are also tombs of Roman construction.[4] An inscription from the aqueduct of Catania, written in both Greek and Latin, commemorates the improvement of the water supply by one Flavius Arsinus, consul of Sicily.[5]

[1] C. I. L. X 2, 7130.

[2] Baedeker, 419.

[3] Baedeker, 420; Cavallari-Holm, Topografia, 307.

[4] Baedeker, 421; Guiliano, Storia di Siracusa, 275-6.

[5] C. I. L. X 2. This title was used for magistrates of Sicily only after the reign of Diocletian.

The theatre at Taormina is of Greek origin, but dates in its present form from a reconstruction carried out in the Roman period.[1] Excavations made in 1882 prove that a building of the Greek period on the top of the rock was removed by the Romans to make room for the foundations of the upper vestibule. The greatest diameter is 357 feet, of the orchestra, 115 feet. The stage, which dates from the Roman period, is in excellent preservation. The posterior wall is two stories high. In it are three niches and on each side a niche for a statue. Beneath the stage is a vaulted channel for water. Large erections on each side were probably used as dressing rooms and storerooms for theatrical properties. The seats for the spectators were divided into nine *cunei*. That the thirty-six niches in the upper *praecinctio* were occupied by sounding boards is improbable in view of the fact that the acoustics are without them very successful. A Roman aqueduct, reservoir, and baths show further contributions of Roman settlers to the town.

Soluntium, which was originally a Phoenician settlement, was rebuilt in Roman times, and, though lacking in larger monuments, is of interest as a representative of the Roman method of laying out a settlement. The town was very regularly laid out on a hill top. The streets run from east to west and north to south, crossing each other at right angles. A narrow passage was left between the backs of the houses to allow the water to escape from the hill. The internal arrangements of several of the houses are still recognizable, and part of the colonnade of one of the larger ones has been reconstructed by Professor Cavallari.[2]

At Thermae Himerae the substructures of a Roman basilica have been excavated above the town where there

[1] Baedeker, 405.

[2] Baedeker, 341.

are also traces of an amphitheatre. The Aqua Cornelia, a Roman aqueduct to the southeast of the town, was destroyed in 1438.[1]

Besides these larger monuments there may be found in the museums of Sicily some few small reminders of Roman influence in the island, — a few statues and vases in the museum of Termini (Thermae Himerae), marble candelabra and two excellent Roman portrait statues at Palermo, among a few other statues of gods and heroes.[2] At the approach to Enna on the rocks at the entrance to the town stands a Roman altar. In the theatre at Segesta are two figures of satyrs of Roman period, and in the houses of the same town may be also seen mosaic pavements of Roman workmanship.[3] In general, however, much less attention has been paid to Roman than to remains of the earlier Greek period, which undeniably are richer and more fully repay the toil of student or archaeologist. Such remains as have been published have been introduced here to prove that the Roman period was not altogether devoid of material contributions to the welfare of the province.

2. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

The history of Sicily during the Roman Empire can be narrated only in outline. For it may be truly said that from the defeat of Sextus Pompeius till the early middle ages Sicily had no political history apart from that of Rome. The old Sicilians of the Greek period were depicted as brilliant in literature, philosophy, and science, but the inspiration for such development faded away under Roman dominion, and Sicily with its waning population and lessen-

[1] Baedeker, 362.

[2] Baedeker, 272, 1903 edition.

[3] Baedeker, 346.

ing fertility became too lacking in spirit to produce a leader in any field. It is difficult to mention any native of the island who came to the front in any department of public life after it was incorporated in Roman dominions.

Of necessity, however, the province shared in the varying joys and sorrows of the rule of the successive emperors. We have already seen that Augustus, by the introduction of colonists, succeeded in the partial rehabitation of some five or six towns. Under Tiberius it doubtless benefited, since that emperor's handling of the provinces was excellent.[1] Caligula's rule was detrimental chiefly to Rome, and he is known to have exerted himself so far in behalf of Sicily as to have certain walls and altars restored which had fallen through age.[2] Claudius was very liberal in the treatment of the provinces. Provincial governors were kept in excellent control;[3] and it was arranged that there should always be an interval between two provincial commands, so as to give opportunity for accusations.[4] Nero started out well and the evils of his caprice were little felt in the provinces. He inaugurated a scheme for abolishing the *publicani*[5] and attempted to save the provinces from the degradations of the gladiatorial shows by forbidding any provincial governor to give such exhibits. In his reign, however, Syracuse was allowed to increase the number of persons taking part in the gladiatorial shows in the city.[6]

Vespasian, in turning the burden of the administration from Italy, heaped a heavy tribute on the provinces to make up the deficit in the treasury, but his principate had the

[1] Suetonius, Tiberius, 26, 32; Tacitus, Annales, IV, 6.

[2] Suetonius, Caligula, 21.

[3] Dio Cassius, XL, 24, 25; Tacitus, Annales, XII, 22.

[4] Dio Cassius, XL, 25.

[5] Tacitus, Annales, XIII, 50.

[6] Tacitus, Annales, XIII, 31. This is a strong evidence of a numerous Roman population in that city.

advantages of stability.[1] Domitian, also, by his stern supervision secured good administration from his provincial governors.[2] Hadrian, whose excellent rule of the provinces was based on a close knowledge of the needs of their several territories, is known to have visited Sicily.[3] His successor, Antoninus Pius, although he did not travel, kept the provinces in a fairly flourishing condition.[4] Septimius Severus had served as proconsul of Sicily as a part of his apprenticeship for imperial rule; but Sicily was forced to feel the effects of his superstition.[5] In the rule of Gallienus there was a slave war in Sicily, which, from the brief notice of it which exists in Trebellius Pollio, seems to have resembled the slave wars of the Republic.[6]

Finally, when Diocletian divided the empire into praefectures and dioceses, and set up deputy praefects for praetors, he included Sicily in the diocese with South Italy and placed both under the orders of the *vicarius urbis Romae*. Then Italy, too, was reduced to the form of a province and over both Italy and Sicily were placed *praesides* or *correctores*.[7]

[1] Suetonius, Vesp. 16.

[2] Suetonius, Domitian, 8.

[3] Historia Augusta I, 14, 2.

[4] Capitolinus, 7.

[5] Historia Augusta X, 4, 2 and 3.

[6] Historia Augusta XXIII, 4, 9. The uprising took the form of marauding bands of highwaymen, probably shepherds and herdsmen, for the country continued to be predominantly pastoral during this period. The revolt was a part of a series of such uprisings throughout the empire, nearly all of which were of a predatory character, and formed a part of the brigandage which marked the downfall of the Roman empire. This evidence for the existence of a sufficiently large number of slaves for such a revolt is surprising in view of the general assumption of the practical cessation of slavery before this period.

[7] C. I. L. X 2, 7284, refers to one such corrector, Domitius Latronianus. Under Constantine they were called *consulares*. C. I. L. X 2, 3032.

3. ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The picture of Sicilian economy during the empire must be nearly as sketchy as the political narrative. Agriculture, the actual tilling of the soil, continued in a small way. Pliny tells of a foreigner who with a beginner's eagerness set out to improve the plot of land he had taken for his farm. He laboriously cleared the soil of all stones, only to find that the crops suffered from the accumulation of mud; so that at last he carried his stones back again.[1] The story is less valuable as advice for farmers than as evidence that small farms were still being cultivated. Pliny also relates that wheat was still exported from Sicily to Rome in his day, although it had to compete with grain from Gaul, the Pontic Chersonese, Sardinia and Alexandria. In weight, if not in quantity, it had a slight advantage, weighing 20 5-6 lb. to the modius, one third of a pound more than the grain of Sardinia, and five-sixths of a pound more than that of Gaul or the Chersonese. Sicily also was described as raising in the mountain regions wheat which ripened the fortieth day after sowing.[2] Evidence that the vine was still cultivated is derived from the mention of a grass called *"ampelodesmos,"* which the Sicilians used to bind up the vines.[3] The cactus was a Sicilian plant used locally for food.[4] The root of this plant throws out stalks that creep along the ground and bear broad thorny leaves. The stalks were used directly as food, or kept pickled in brine.[5]

[1] Pliny, N. H. XVIII, 8.

[2] Pliny, N. H. XVIII, 12.

[3] Pliny, N. H. XVII, 35.

[4] Probably not our modern variety, but that technically called *Cinara carduncellus.*

[5] Pliny, N. H. XXI, 57; Theophrastus, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΩΝ, VI, 4, 10.

Whether this plant was cultivated or grew wild is not known. Probably the latter was the case. Quinces, on the other hand, were cultivated, and the fruit exported to Rome. This was particularly valued as the source of a precious medicinal oil called *melinum*.[1] Honey and beeswax figured among the island's valuable exports, especially the wax, which was thought to surpass that of other honey-producing countries.[2]

We may be sure that cattle-raising continued to be the chief industry of the island, in spite of the few references to it in the literary sources. We have already seen proofs of these pastoral activities in the empire in the slave uprising of herdsmen in the third century. Ovid refers to the great size of the bulls of the island;[3] and there is an exposition dating from the fifth century of the peculiar and admirable characteristics of Sicilian horses, which had been bred on the island for a sufficient time to develop a distinctive type. They were described as of great frame, with strong, firm necks and flowing manes. The breed was famed for longevity and success in the circus, and was not to be despised for use in war because of the patience displayed in enduring wounds.[4] In the third century Gordian III thought Sicilian horses worthy gifts to imperial supporters, and used one hundred in this manner.

The interest of Pliny in all natural products makes him again our chief source for the mineral resources of Sicily. These were probably never sufficiently large to form an important article in trade. They are not mentioned at all by Cicero; had they existed in large quantities they would undoubtedly have been developed to a degree worthy of

[1] Pliny, N. H. XXIII, 54.

[2] Pliny, N. H. XI, 14.

[3] Ovid, Metamorphoses, VIII, 282-3.

[4] Vegetius, Mulomedicina III, 6, 7.

that writer's notice. Mica, which was used in Roman times as window glass, was found in Sicily.[1] The agate of the island was of a very beautiful variety; it was constantly used in mosaics and brought a high price.[2] The province also supplied Roman markets with transparent selemite, a stone highly prized as a building material for facades, for it could be split into leaves as thin as desired and did not deteriorate rapidly by weathering. The shavings and scales were used to strew the Circus Maximus at the celebrations of the games, to produce a pleasing whiteness.[3] Two inscriptions show the importance of stone cutting at Catania, where the presence of guilds of *marmorarii* and *coementi* is attested; the latter were powerful enough to have a candidate in the elections.[4]

Lead and lead products of medium quality were found in Sicily.[5] The Sicilian litharge was called *argoritic*, because, like that of Laurium, it was found with silver ore.[6] Liquid bitumen was collected from a spring near Agrigentum by the natives for use in lamps and as a medicinal lotion for beasts of burden.[7] Sulphur and salt figured as important exports of the island. Moulds of terracotta, bearing the names of emperors of the early fourth century, have been found at Agrigentum, which are encrusted with sulphur from their use in stamping forms of sulphur for export.[8] The salt of Agrigentum, too, was known in the days of Augustine.[9]

[1] Pliny, N. H. XXXVI, 16 ff., 180. Cf. III, 30; XX, 113.

[2] Theophrastus, De Lapidibus, 31.

[3] Pliny, N. H. XXXVI, 45.

[4] C. I. L. X 2, 7039, 7042.

[5] Diosc. V, 102.

[6] Blümner, Terminologie IV, 89.

[7] Pliny, N. H. XXXV, 57.

[8] C. I. L. X 2, 8044. Agrigentum still has a flourishing trade in sulphur.

[9] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XXI, 5.

For the state of the island under the late empire we have only two brief geographic descriptions, the geography of Ptolemaus, which makes too many obvious errors to be trusted, and the Itinerarium of Antoninus Augustus. This merely gives the list of towns lying on various routes of travel through the island and the number of miles between them. It is of interest only because it shows which of the old familiar towns survived and what new towns have sprung up. Of the old towns may be noted the names of Lilybaeum, Messana, Catania, Agrigentum, Hybla, Syracuse, Tauromenium, Tyndaris, Drepanum, Segesta, Panormus, Halaesa, Enna, Centuripa and Aetna, which had become familiar in the political and economic history of early Sicily. By their side are, among others, a surprising number of new settlements, the names of which end in *-ana*, such as Captoniana, Comiciana, Philosophiana, Petiliana, Calvisiana, Corconiana, and Piciniana.[1] The ending denotes property or ownership, and these names therefore designate the huge estates of Roman settlers upon which the employed formed whole villages.

They suggest an interesting picture, indicative of the conclusion of the whole process through which Sicily had passed. From a state of economic and political independence from Rome in which she lived her own vivid life and made her own history — the Sicily of Hiero and Theocritus — she passed by Romanization through various stages of economic and political dependence and decline, — the Sicily of the Slave Wars, of Verres, of Sextus Pompeius — until by the time of the opening empire she had reached a humdrum level of existence, and had become a sparsely inhabited, stock-raising country. Deterioration did not go much farther than this, but the island continued to suffer the numbing cultural and economic effects of wide-spread

[1] Parthey, Siciliae Antiquae Tabulata Emendata, 8, 9.

latifundia. The north and east coasts kept the most thriving populations on account of the proximity to Rome and the carrying trade which necessarily existed between the producer and the consumer. Since, however, the owners of the Sicilian estates were so largely Romans, resident in Rome, little gold need return to the island in exchange for the wool, hides, cattle, and grain exported. The drain was continually away from the province, and she could not but suffer from it. So the island eked out a mild existence until the conflicts of barbarian hordes set the stage for a new drama.

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